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“Blunt Speaking”

**The Crimean War Reminiscences of
John Elijah Blunt, Civilian Interpreter**

by Dr Douglas J Austin

Sir John Elijah Blunt's 'Reminiscences'

Chapters 1-3*

A preamble to CWRS SP33 (Chapters 4-10)

by Dr Douglas J Austin, 2007

*** These draft chapters (previously unrecognised)
were discovered by Mrs Sheila Wilson in the
course of re-cataloguing the Blunt Papers held in
the Special Collections of the University of
Birmingham.**

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[Extract from CWRs SP32 : ‘Blunt Speaking’.]

Appendix J1: Obituary of Sir John Elijah Blunt and Statement of Services

‘The Daily Malta Chronicle’

June 22nd, 1916

THE LATE SIR JOHN BLUNT

The last earthly tribute of respect to the memory of the late Sir John Blunt Kt., C.B., H.B.M. Consular Service (retired), who died on Sunday morning at his residence, Strada Nuova, Floriana, after some years of failing health, was paid on Monday evening when, as already announced, the remains were laid to rest in the *Ta’ Braxia* Cemetery, where the quiet Service, expressly desired by the deceased gentleman during the closing hours of a long and useful life, was of a very impressive character.

Leaving the house at 4.45 p.m., the cortege arrived shortly after at the *Ta Braxia* cemetery where the coffin was unhoused and received at the gate by the Revd. E. Edmonds-Smith, M.A., S.C.F., who led the procession down the avenue reading the funeral Service.

The pall bearers were : Sir Richard Micallef, M. Milon de Peillon, Consul for France : Mr. Justin Alvares, H.B.M. Consul General (retired) Mr. Thomas Smith, Consul for Spain.

Lady Blunt, who was greatly distressed, followed the coffin, supported by Miss Garnett and Miss Paulucci, residing with her ladyship. On the coffin were placed the cocked-hat and sword of the deceased.

His Excellency the Governor was represented by Captain the Contino Castelletti, Colonial A.D.C, Naval Secretary Stack representing the Senior Naval Officer. General Hunter Blair and a number of Naval and Military officers formed part of the cortege, among others present being : Mdme. Milon de Peillon and Judge Parnis, Mrs. T. C. Smith, Mr. and Mrs. Hare, Mrs. Cecil G. Wood, Miss Kyprêos, Miss Eryphale Kyprêos, Mr. Tsorbazoglow, Vice Consul for Greece, Dr. Zanghi, Mr. Leontis, Mr. and Mrs. Picramenos, Major Monreal, Mr. Page etc.

Lieut. A. C. M. Bennett R.N. carried a velvet cushion on which were placed the numerous medals and decorations of the deceased.

After a short Service in the Chapel, the coffin was borne to the grave-side where the ceremony of interment was performed, the prayers being very impressively recited by the Chaplain. Deep sympathy was shared with Lady Blunt as she moved off with the company manifestly moved to inconsolable grief at the irreparable loss she had sustained.

Notwithstanding that flowers were dispensed with in compliance with the request of the deceased, very handsome wreaths suitably inscribed were sent by His Excellency the Governor, Mrs. Cecil G. Wood, Mr. Justin Alvarez, H B.M. Consul General (retired) - ‘A small token of affection and loyalty to my old Chief,’ Mr. Costantin Kyprêos, Consul for Greece and family, Mr. Tsorbazoglour Vice-Consul for Greece, Dr. Zanghi, Mr. D. G. Leontis, Mr. Ch. Picramenos, Junior N.C.O.’s. R.E.

Sir John Elijah Blunt was born on the 14th October 1832 at Adrianople. He was the son of Mr. Charles Blunt, late H.M. Consul at Smyrna and Caroline daughter of Mr. A. Vitalis, late H.M. Consul at Tines. He entered His Majesty’s Consular Service in 1850. Married in 1856 Fanny Janet daughter of Mr. Donald Sandison Consul at Broussa.

The personality of Sir John Blunt was so familiar among us, that of his death it may well be said, a void is left which will be felt by all classes of the community among whom he was extremely popular and respected, not only on account of his social position and the eminent services he had rendered to the Crown, but also for his genial disposition, and ready willingness to participate in every worthy work having for object the welfare of the island and people he loved so well. He delighted in making others happy, and his kindness and charity were dispensed with liberality enriched by absence of ostentation. He wielded the pen of a ready writer, and it has been from time to time the proud privilege of The Daily Malta Chronicle to reproduce some of the most stirring incidents in his distinguished career. For Sir John Blunt was not only a Consul in the sense that he was the representative of the Crown under the respective governments to which he was accredited. He had come of a Consular Stock, so to speak, and was already equipped with the essential qualifications for the duties and responsibilities of his high office to which he rapidly added the highest reputation as a diplomat, a linguist and a distinguished soldier, as amply testified in his remarkable career.

STATEMENT OF SERVICES

of

Sir John E. Blunt, Kt., C.B.

Was twice Acting Vice-Consul at Mytilene, in the Consular District of Rhodes, Turkey. Was Acting Consul at Rhodes from January till April, 1854. Served as Chief Interpreter to the Cavalry Division in the Crimea under the Earl of Lucan, from April, 1854, till March, 1855¹. Obtained the Crimean Medal and Clasps for Alma, Balaclava and Inkerman, as well as the Turkish Medal for services in the Crimea.² Was appointed Vice-Consul at Volo, March 8, 1855. Acted as Agent at Volo for Her Majesty's Land Transport Corps during 1855 and 1856. Was transferred to Uscup, March 31, 1857. Was Acting Consul at Monastir from November 10, 1857, till November 5, 1858. Was employed on service in Bulgaria during May, June and July, 1859. Was Acting Consul at Monastir from May 15 to 26, 1860. Was again employed on service in Bulgaria and North Albania from June 10 till September 18, 1860. Accompanied the Grand Vizier, Kibrizli Mehmed Pasha, from Nish to Uscup, on his tour of inspection in European Turkey, in 1860. Was afterwards employed on special service in the Province of Philippopolis, till December 18, 1860, when the Vice-Consulate was removed thither. The Vice-Consulate was established at Adrianople March 13, 1862; and Mr. Blunt was appointed Her Majesty's Vice Consul there, November 7, 1862. Was employed at Adrianople and Philippopolis from July 3 till October 11, 1862, in investigating the circumstances attending the murder of an American Missionary, for which services he received the thanks of the President of the United States and was nominated American Consul in Roumelia, but which appointment he was not permitted to accept. Was Acting Consul-General at Belgrade from November 6, 1864, till July 1, 1865; was employed at Eski-Zaghra from December 4, 1867, till January 5, 1868, in investigating an outrage on American citizens for which services he received the thanks of the President of the United States. Was promoted to be Consul at Monastir, Turkey, February 13, 1872, and was appointed Consul for Salonica

¹ Blunt served until February, 1855.

² Sir John was also entitled to the Sebastopol clasp to the British Crimean Medal.

and Monastir and the districts included in those vilayets³, August 6, 1872 ; and Consul for the vilayets of Salonica and Prisrend and the Sandjack⁴ of Thessaly August 20, 1872; was Acting French Vice-Consul at Monastir from June 1 till September 26, 1872, and Acting German Consul at Salonica from August till November 1873; was summoned to Constantinople during the Conference, held in December, 1876, and January, 1877; was appointed also (temporarily) Consul at Adrianople March 27, 1877. Was sent to Volo in April, 1878, to investigate the circumstances attending the death of Mr. Ogle and was afterwards employed on Special Service in Thessaly. Was made C.B., August 30, 1878. Was promoted to be Consul-General for the vilayets of Salonica and Prisrend and the Sandjack of Thessaly, to reside at Salonica March 28, 1879; was appointed Consul-General for the vilayets of Salonica, Epirus, Monastir, and Cossova, and for the Sandjack of Thessaly; November 12, 1879; and Consul-General for the vilayets of Salonica, Monastir, Janina, and Cossova, and for the Mustekil⁵ of Serwidché (Service), October 6, 1884. Received the thanks of the Sultan and the Silver Medal of the Nisham-i-Imtiaz for assistance rendered during the fire at Salonica in September, 1890. Received the Jubilee Medal 1897. Received from the Sultan Gold Medal of the Imtiaz for services in connection with the Greco-Turkish War 1897. Appointed Consul for the States of Massachussets, Vermont, New Hampshire and Maine, to reside at Boston, April, 8, 1899; but permitted to retain the personal rank of Consul-General. Retired on a pension October 1, 1902. Received the honour of knighthood November 9, 1902.

It will be seen from the above summary of the services rendered by Sir John Blunt, that since the year 1850 he has been actively and almost unremittingly engaged in the Consular and Diplomatic Services through which he had acquired recognition among the foremost authorities upon questions connected with the Near East and Russia. On his retirement he came to Malta together with Lady Blunt, where they made their home and associations, being from that time closely connected with the social life of the island. Sir John Blunt used to say that his sojourn in Malta was among the happiest periods of his life, except for the heavy bereavement sustained by Lady Blunt and himself in the death of their dearly loved son.⁶

³ A 'Vilayet' (Turkish: vilâyet) is an administrative division, usually translated as 'province.' The word derives from the Arabic waliyah, meaning 'to administer.'

⁴ '*Sanjak*' and '*Sandjak*' are the most common English transliterations of the Turkish word '*Sancak*', which literally means 'banner'. They were the sub-divisions of the Ottoman provinces referred to as '*vilayet*', '*eyalet*' or '*pashaluk*'.

⁵ '*Müstakil*' : an autonomous or self-governing district of the Ottoman Empire.

⁶ From Lady Fanny Blunt's book '*My Reminiscences*', John Murray, London, 1918, it is clear that Captain Osmond Donald Blunt eventually suffered from chronic illness and lived with his parents in Malta from 1902 until his death in 1915. (See '*Brief Biographies*').

CHAPTER 1.

“Consular Apprenticeship.”

I was born October 14th 1832 at Adrianople, in European Turkey, where my father the late Charles Blunt acted as Her Majesty's Consul till 1834 when he was transferred to the Consulate of Salonica. I do not remember our arrival there but always recall to mind two events during my early years in the place. The first was an outbreak of plague of the bubonic type in 1835-6, during which my father observed very strict quarantine. He received few callers at the Consulate and caused all paper and other contagious objects sent to him to be thoroughly fumigated, and I remember that I used to watch and attempt to assist in this prophylactic operation. The second event that remained impressed in my youthful memory was a great fire that occurred shortly after the cessation of the plague and gutted the whole of the Frank Quarter, so called, as it was inhabited by foreigners and Levantines and a few British subjects - originally members of the Levant Company.

[Most of the Consulates in this quarter, including the British, were completely destroyed, and it is a singular fact that after some 54 years, the house I occupied at Salonica, when serving as Consul General there, was also gutted during the great fire (September 20th 1890) that consumed nearly one third of the town and rendered homeless some 20,000 of its inhabitants, chiefly Jews. My own loss was very great: it included, with the exception of some personal effects and the most important parts of the Consular Archives, which I succeeded in saving, the whole of my furniture, a collection of valuable books, many of them relating to Turkey, and most of my manuscript notes, the destruction of which prevents my adhering to Chronological order, and also refreshing my memory in preparing this narrative of my reminiscences.]

In after years I was told by my father that it was entirely due to the timely personal assistance of the Commandant of the town fortress Binbashi (Major) Moussa Bey and some of his Artillerymen that we all escaped from the Consulate while it was in flames. I remember being perched on the shoulders of one of his men while my father carried in his arms my infant sister.

We were conducted to the residence of the Greek Archbishop, who readily received and treated us most hospitably. The above named Commandant was very popular at Salonica especially with the foreign residents, and my father had always a good opinion of his upright character and Military abilities. After serving some years at Salonica, he was promoted to the rank of Ferik (Lieutenant General) and appointed to the command of the Forts on the Danube and in Bulgaria; and during the war with Russia in 1853-4, he distinguished himself as Commander-in-Chief of the troops in the defence of Silistria where he was killed during the enemy's last and unsuccessful assault of the place.

There being no English School at Salonica, my early education was gained at Smyrna. I was sent there when 7 years of age being recommended to Mr James Hanson, a connection of my father's and one of the principal merchants in the place. He and his wife treated me as a member of their family and I always remember with grateful feelings their kindness during all the time I was under their care. I was first put in a small boarding school kept by a Miss Danforth assisted by a Miss Wright, both connected with the American Board of Foreign Missions. On account of the great pains which they took on my behalf, I have always had a warm spot in my recollections for them; and it is with much pleasure, as I now look back on my long Official career, to find that I was enabled, in part at least, to repay their kindnesses

by services in protection and furtherance of the work of their Organization in Albania, Bulgaria and Macedonia, as will be seen later on.

After attending their school about two years I was placed as a boarder in an English school under the direction of the Reverend Dr Meredith, at Boudja, a village not far from Smyrna, and the summer resort of some of the leading English families established in that city. Early in 1844, I was sent to England and put in Dr Greig's Boarding School at Walthamstow in Essex and after staying there about two years, I entered Kensington proprietary grammar school in London. As my father had a large family (six daughters and two sons) to bring up and provide for on small means, he informed me early in 1849 that he could not afford to keep me much longer at school in England and proposed that I should return to Salonica to serve at the Consulate as Assistant Clerk to prepare myself for some permanent employment in the Consular Service. I therefore had to leave Kensington School in the Autumn of 1849, and it has always been a subject of great regret with me that I was taken away so early from school, and that my father's circumstances prevented my having the advantages of a University training.

The Kensington Institution afforded a sound and liberal education and was very successful in preparing pupils for the honourable East India Company's College at Addiscombe. During my time there it was attended by 150 youths, 18 of whom were preparing for Indian Cadetship and I was glad to learn a few years after I left the school that all the 18 had succeeded in passing their examinations for Addiscombe, and that most of them had won for themselves distinguished positions in the Indian Army, five of whom, however, were killed while bravely fighting during the Indian Mutiny viz: Donald Grant; V. Hutchinson; M. Batty; Quintin Batty; (at Delhi) and W. Wavell. Several others of my Kensingtonian School fellows also distinguished themselves, two of whose names I remember, viz: F. Tullock, who passed for the Royal Engineers and rose to the rank of General; and F.C. Lascelles* who entered the school a few months before I left it. He was the youngest boy, and a general favourite in his Class (the First). He has greatly distinguished himself in the Diplomatic Service of which he is at present the Senior, as His Majesty's Ambassador at Berlin.

* The Right Honourable Sir F.C.Lascelles; G.C.B; G.C.M.G; G.C.V.O.

I left England in the Autumn of 1849 for Brussels where I remained with one of my aunts about three months, chiefly with the object of improving my imperfect knowledge of French. Early in December I resumed my journey to Salonica visiting on the way Cologne, Breslau, Berlin, Vienna, and Trieste. I arrived at my destination in February and was immediately given employment by my father in the capacity of Assistant Consular Clerk. Although not an exacting task master, he kept me well occupied and gradually instructed me in the regular routine of a Consular Office, and I thus learnt a good deal which proved most useful during my Consular career, especially in my dealings with Turkish Officials and natives. As I had a good cursive hand and the typewriter was not then born, I was employed chiefly in copying reports and despatches to the Foreign Office and Constantinople Embassy on commercial and political subjects, and also letters and petitions and commercial and legal documents in French or Italian.

The Turkish writer of the Consulate, Nouri Effendi, gave me lessons in that language and gradually initiated me in the Oriental colloquial forms of expressions, while Mr Henry Rasy, the Vice Consul and Cancelier, an Ionian who was educated in an English school at Corfu, taught me Italian and modern Greek - but of these foreign languages, especially of Turkish and Greek,

I never acquired a true fundamental knowledge, but only learned them sufficiently to serve as Interpreter and to copy or translate documents addressed to the Consulate. My public career was thus launched only to be finally terminated, in the year 1902, upon my retirement on pension, as His Majesty's Consul General at Boston U.S. America, having to my credit an active service of 52 years.

During my Consular Apprenticeship at Salonica I accompanied my father as his Secretary to Larissa, (Yeni-Shehir) the Capital of Thessaly where he went under orders from the Embassy to inquire into and report upon the alleged arbitrary confiscation by the Turkish Authorities of a large quantity of salt imported by an Ionian Merchant; at the same time he was to obtain and report information on the general situation of that province. This was the first of the numerous journeys I made in Thessaly, Macedonia, Albania, Bulgaria and Thrace during my career and in years when those provinces had no roads to speak of, much less railways! We left Salonica early one morning in June (1851) on horseback accompanied by an escort of mounted zaptiehs (policemen) chiefly Albanians who had been furnished by the Pasha of Salonica. We followed part of the itinerary of Sts: Paul and Silas on their way to Greece when they were expelled from Salonica by the Jews and gentiles in that city, who accused them of "striving to turn the world upside down". The first day we went to Karaferia (Veria), the next to Kitros at the foot of Mount Olympus and not very far from the sea-coast, and late on the evening of the third day we arrived at Larissa after a very pleasant ride through the famous picturesque Vale of Tempe formed by a gorge or ravine between Mount Olympus and Mount Ossa through which the River Salambria (Peneus) flows into the Gulf of Salonica. It took us about two hours to ride through the valley over a very narrow road hewn out of the rocky declivity of Mount Ossa. At a short distance from the Southern exit of this valley we stopped for an hour or two at the Turkish village of Baba to bait the horses and in the evening arrived at Larissa where we were hospitably received by Dr Samardjides, an Ionian physician who occasionally served as correspondent of the Consulate at Salonica.

The following day we exchanged formal visits with the Mutessarif (Governor) Kiani Pasha, a Circassian by birth who was educated in France and spoke French fluently.

We remained at Larissa about a week in order to obtain the information required by the Ambassador. With regard to the Ionian's case, sufficient evidence was secured proving that the salt he had imported was arbitrarily confiscated not by the provincial authorities but by the farmer of the monopoly of the exclusive right to import and sell that article in Thessaly. This evidence was confirmed by the Governor Kiani Pasha who disapproved of the system of trade monopolies as then existed in Turkey as it gave rise to great abuses and serious complaints and he regretted he could not interfere in the matter without special instructions from the Sublime Porte. I subsequently heard, when serving at Mytilene and Rhodes (1852-3) that the Ambassador Viscount Stratford de Redcliffe had succeeded in obtaining from the Porte a suitable indemnity for the Ionian, as well as the promulgation of an Imperial Firman abolishing the monopolies of salt, leeches and other articles of trade in the Ottoman Empire.

With regard to the state of Thessaly, according to the information obtained by my father from reliable sources, the inhabitants, Christians and Mahomedans, as well as the Turkish Authorities were in a state of uneasiness caused by the recent increase of brigandage, and the discovery that considerable quantities of firelocks, gunpowder and small ammunition were being smuggled into the frontier districts from Greece. Already some well-to-do Greek and Vlach inhabitants in the frontier towns had disposed of their property and removed into Greece or the islands of the Archipelago. This information was confirmed by Kiani Pasha on our leave taking of His Excellency, who further declared that while Greek secret Agents were

trying to foment disturbances in Thessaly, numerous Russian Emissaries were also employed in exciting the Christian inhabitants of Bosnia, Servia, and Bulgaria to rise in rebellion against the Sultan, assuring them at the same time of the active support of the Emperor Nicholas.

The day before we took our departure from Larissa, Hadji Hussein Pasha, a Turkish notable of Thessaly whom my father had met some years before in Epirus, called early in the morning to invite us to a "Ziafet" (Feast) in the evening. My father who had not a favourable opinion of His Excellency at first declined, alleging as an excuse his preparations for next morning's journey; but on being pressed, met him half way by promising to pay him a short visit and leave me as his representative at the "Ziafet". After the Pasha left us, my father initiated me into the Ceremonies of a Turkish feast and at the same time strongly recommended me to beat a hasty retreat should the entertainment degenerate into a drinking bout.

Towards sunset we proceeded to the Pasha's residence where we were received at the foot of the stairs by His Excellency and his other guests including a Bishop of a Greek Diocese in Thessaly and some six or seven Turkish and Greek notables of the place who, preceded by a local band (Tchalgis) playing a native tune, escorted us to the reception room which was furnished with comfortable divans. Shortly after Tchibooks made of long Jasmine stems adorned with amber mouth pieces, followed by coffee, were served round; while the Pasha, the Bishop and my father conversed together on the state of the country. The latter afterwards told me that he was much impressed by the very bitter language the Bishop used in complaining of the Russian intrigues in Bosnia and Bulgaria. On his taking leave of the Pasha, he was accompanied by His Excellency and his guests to the street door with the same ceremonial as on his reception.

The Pasha with the Bishop on his right and me on his left followed by the other guests proceeded into another and larger room which was furnished with low cushioned divans round its walls on three sides. Pipes were served, and shortly after servants brought two large round trays and placed them on stands at one of the corners of the room - One of the trays, the larger of the two, contained a number of small round dishes full of light confectionary and fruit besides Caviar, Olives, Sardines, Pickles, Salads, Nuts and other "Excitants". The small tray contained decanters of Raki rum and water with their complement of tumblers and small wine and liqueur glasses; one or two servants holding small towels attended near each tray - While the musicians with their stringed and wind instruments and tambourines were squatted in a row at the end of the other corner. The Pasha, after conversing with the Bishop motioned him and his other guests to the trays. As it was my first entrée to a Turkish "Ziafet" I watched the proceedings with keen curiosity.

I observed that His Excellency the Pasha drank a wine glass-full of Raki and washed it down with a mouthful or two of water, while His Grace the Bishop partook of Raki diluted with water in a tumbler; the other guests followed, some the Pasha's and others, including myself, the Bishop's habit of imbibing this liquor. We next by turns visited the large tray and after partaking of some of its delicacies, which I relished especially the Kaviar Salad more than the Raki, resumed our seats and pipes, while the musicians played a native melody - and shortly after one of the Turkish guests gave us a song with the accompaniment of a lute - it was very like a funeral dirge! - at its conclusion most of the company again visited the trays - while my neighbour on the sofa, a Greek notable, conversed with me in French. - He spoke of the Eastern affairs and descanted on the probable results should Austria and Russia go to war with Turkey.

Austria, he said, would take possession of Servia, Bosnia, Albania and the whole of Macedonia including the port and gulf of Salonica, while Russia's share would include Moldavia and Wallachia, Bulgaria, Thrace and all the littoral of the Black Sea, Constantinople and the Dardanelles! - "What will be then the fate of Greece?" (he next remarked) "But our hopes are still centred in England and France. As I was getting hungry I interrupted him by asking when dinner would be served. He smiled and answered to my great surprise "Not before an hour or two" - adding - "the Pasha has ordered "Keutcheks" (Gipsy dancing girls) to attend for the amusement of his guests". As I had heard of "Keutcheks" but never seen them, I decided to remain to witness their performances on the light fantastic toe.

The Pasha seeing me converse with the Greek notable invited me to drink with him to my father's health. The Bishop joined us; no speeches were made but His Grace after clinking his glass with mine said to me "May he live many years". We then returned to our seats on the sofa, and shortly after six dancing girls were announced. In coming into the room they stood before us in a row - and, after making profound salams, gracefully marched around in single file playing the while their tambourines and castanets. - All of them were young, not above 16 or 15 years of age each and with their light olive complexions and black piercing eyes and black hair looked very pretty and bewitching; their lithe and sinewy bodies were however loosely dressed exposing too much their personal charms during their seductive dances. After each dance, they offered to serve Raki to the guests most of whom acknowledged their attention by caressing them and attaching to their foreheads with a little saliva one or two small gold coins called "Roobiés" of the intrinsic value of about eighteen pence each.

One of the girls paid the same attention to my Greek neighbour and me, and on our courteously declining her offer, she made us a very graceful salam. As I felt somewhat upset by the Raki I had imbibed and afraid of being pressed to take more of this liquor, I availed myself of the following ludicrous display of the Pasha and Bishop to quietly slip away. They had evidently both indulged to excess for they began dancing or rather hopping about together while the "Keutcheks" formed a circle round them and encouraged and excited them, some by clapping their hands, and some by playing their tambourines and clinking and rattling their castanets. It was a comical if not a very edifying performance. The guests appeared very much diverted, and convulsed with laughter on seeing His Excellency and His Grace embrace each other and next exchange their respective headdress and reel about in the circle of "Keutcheks". I then abandoned the "Ziafet" somewhat amused but far more surprised at the Bishop's excess.

Next morning on relating to my father the incidents of this Bacchanalian revelry he remarked to me that such carousals were then common among the Turks but rarely shared by Greek Prelates. I may add that I never witnessed any more similar self indulgence on their part and gladly bear my testimony to the moral virtues of most of those I was acquainted with during my long service in Turkey. My father told me that on our return to Salonica, I should write a full description of the "Ziafet".

We left Larissa early that morning and rode to the Turkish village of Baba situate near the entrance to the vale of Tempe, where we remained about two hours to have lunch and rest a little. We were very hospitably received by the Sheik or Chief of the Bektashes "Teké" (Conventicle) so called from Bektash the founder of the sect or order. They form a distinct Mahomedan confraternity which has many adherents in European Turkey, chiefly in Albania. In some districts in Epirus, for instance in Arghiro-Castro, Permeti and Colonia,

they have rich "Tekés" - monasteries, whose "Babas" (Fathers) are very charitable to the Mahomedan and Christian poor. They are liberal minded, hospitable and entertain good relations with their Christian neighbours. - My father considered them the Mahomedan Protestants of Turkey - He told me that the Sultan Mahmud after destroying the Janissaries attempted but failed to suppress this sect also.

After enjoying a siesta we bid good-bye to our Bektash host and continued our journey through Tempé as far as the Greek village of Ambelakia* situate on the slope of Mount Ossa where we were hospitably entertained by one of the Kojia-Bashies** (Primates) whose name I have forgotten. After a sumptuous dinner, my father questioned him on the condition of the Christian villages on Mount Olympus, Ossa and Pelion and was told that most of them were more or less well off, especially those of Mount Pelion, who also enjoyed certain privileges that were not accorded to the inhabitants of Ossa and Olympus.

* Vineyards (in Greek).

** Elders - or Primates (In Turkish).

Our host however dilated on the once flourishing condition of his village due to the success of its manufacturies of cotton goods during the French Revolution and the wars carried on by Napoleon Bonaparte. Those goods he said were much esteemed, and exported in large quantities to Constantinople, Salonica and other trade centres of the Levant, and also to Trieste and Vienna. What gave, our host declared, a great impulse to this trade was the fact that the cotton manufacturies were the common property of the villagers and worked on the mutual profit and loss system between village capitalists and labourers - but, he added, all this prosperity eventually collapsed owing chiefly to the cessation of the continental wars and in a great measure to the Greek war of Independence.

Next morning before resuming our journey we visited with our host the principal church, the public library and central school. They and some of the neighbouring houses were all well built of stone and in a better style than even the constructions in Larissa. After taking leave of our kind host, we resumed our journey and towards evening arrived at Caterina, at the foot of Mount Olympus and the chief town of the Caza (District) of the same name, and the seat of a Caimacam (Sub-Governor) and a Greek Bishop by whom we were hospitably entertained.

Who could have foretold that after nearly thirty years (Febry 1880) I would have to renew my visit to Caterina and remain there one whole month (February 21st to March 22nd) taking measures to secure the personal safety and release of the late Colonel Henry Synge, who had been captured and held to ransom by the blood-thirsty brigand chief Nico and his band of cutthroats? I shall describe this incident in its proper order.

After enjoying an excellent breakfast we thanked the Bishop for his generous hospitality and resumed our journey arriving late in the evening at the farm of Palatiza, in the district of Veria where after a frugal repast we spent the night, and the following day we reached Salonica after, for me, a very interesting and enjoyable outing. What struck me most during our expedition were the marks of honour and respect and the general hospitality extended to Her Majesty's Consul and his retinue by the Turkish authorities, Greek clergy, landlords and farmers.

Shortly after our return to Salonica, I wrote in compliance with my father's wish a description of the "Ziafet" I attended at Larissa. As it was my first attempt to pen a Consular report, I was very pleased that my father approved of it, and after making some emendations,

sent a copy of it to the Great Eltchi (Ambassador Viscount Stratford de Redcliffe). I had also prepared a second copy which my father had kept and I subsequently found it after his death among the family papers. These, with the report in question, I succeeded in saving from the great fire at Salonica, the 20th September 1890, that gutted the Consulate General and I have thus been enabled to describe more in detail the "Ziafet" than had I had to rely on my memory only at this distance of time. The description is a true picture typical of some of the customs at that period, nearly sixty years ago; but these customs are generally being replaced by other less demonstrative entertainments: the preliminary drinking bouts with the accompaniment of gypsy keutcheks are now less frequent, Pashas are also far more moderate in their pleasures and I have rarely heard of Greek Bishops in Turkey drinking to excess or misconducting themselves at entertainments.

Dinner parties are now held at reasonable hours, and champagne claret and other wines both foreign and native are served to the guests by waiters instead of Raki by keutcheks or pretty dancing girls. The latter are not much in vogue now and are being displaced at Constantinople and principal towns in European Turkey by Caffé Chantants - girls imported from Austria, Germany and Italy.

In the Autumn of 1852 my father went to Constantinople to personally report to Colonel Hugh Rose C.B., who acted as Chargé D'Affaires during the absence of Her Majesty's Ambassador Viscount Stratford de Redcliffe, on the situation in Macedonia and Thessaly and he left the Consulate in charge of the Vice Consul and Cancelier Mr Henry Rasy. The latter however shortly after fell ill with a severe attack of fever and I therefore had to attend to the current business of the Consulate - most fortunately no serious incidents occurred to call for my intervention or assistance further than to arrange a dispute between two Ionians about the settlement of a debt; and I confined myself to reporting to the Embassy through my father information on the increase of brigandage in Vodina and other districts of Macedonia.

I also remember having received from a noted Greek brigand chief called Calamati a letter in Greek addressed to the Consulate soliciting its intervention with the Turkish authorities of Salonica to whom he was willing to surrender on certain conditions. As this notorious brigand chief had subjected Greece and the Turkish province of Thessaly to disorders of every kind, I felt it was most important that he should be removed from the theatre of his lawless pursuits, but I also considered that the brigand's offer to surrender on certain conditions was not one the Consulate should treat with the Turkish provincial authorities and I therefore sent his letter to Colonel Rose, who subsequently approved of my action in the matter.

When my father returned to Salonica I was very glad that he approved of the manner in which I had carried on the duties of the Consulate during the Vice Consul's illness. Shortly after, I received an offer of Mr Newton, Vice Consul at Mytilene to serve as his Consular Clerk and Interpreter. I accepted it with my father's approval and took my departure for that island at an early opportunity.

CHAPTER 2.

“My Consular duties at Mytilene and Rhodes.”

Mr Charles Thomas Newton* who was appointed, in 1852, Vice Consul at Mytilene (the ancient Lesbos), an island in the Turkish Archipelago, with the mission to conduct Archaeological researches and purchase of antiquities for the British Museum, shortly after his arrival at his post, feeling the need of a Consular Assistant, and on the kind recommendation of the late Mr John Bidwell and Mr F. B. Alston of the Foreign Office, both friends of my father's, he wrote to ask me if I was willing to serve with him as Consular Clerk and Interpreter with a salary of three pounds sterling per month, besides board and lodging. As I felt I was a heavy burden on my father, he having a growing up family of eight children to support, I readily accepted his offer and had every reason to be glad I did so, for Mr Newton proved a very kind and considerate chief, always treating me as a friend and companion, although I was scarcely 18 years of age, during all the time I served under him.

* Was M.A. of Christ Church, Oxford; one of the jurors for sculpture models and plastic art in the Exhibition of 1851, and was employed from 1856 till 1859 in conducting excavations at Budroum and Cape Crio. After serving as Consul at Rome from 1859 to 1861, he was Head of the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities in the British Museum and was made a D.C.L. of Oxford in 1875, L.S.D. of Cambridge and K.C.B. in ????

On my arrival at Mytilene, he introduced me to the Governor and the Consular Corps and gave me charge of the current official business of the Vice Consulate which, however, was neither very important nor difficult, and directed me to report to him any serious case requiring his immediate intervention with the local Authorities; he, in the meantime, devoting most of his time in search for Lesbian Coins and other antiquities in which pursuit he was assisted by a young companion of his, Mr Domenic Ellis Colnaghi**, who like me, was yet in his teens.

•• Now Sir Domenic Ellis Colnaghi, H.M.'s Consul General (retired).

Not very long after I entered on my duties, an Ionian Citizen (the Ionian Islands were then a British Protectorate) requested me to assist him to recover an old debt of one thousand piasters (equal about £9) from a Turco-Greek shopman. I reported the case to Mr Newton and, with his approval, had the shopman summoned before the Medjliss (Local Court). He pleaded having duly discharged his debt and triumphantly exhibited a receipt of the Ionian Claimant who at once emphatically declared that the signature on said receipt was a forgery! After a heated wrangle between the parties, the Cadi (Judge) and president of the Medjliss asked the plaintiff if he was prepared to swear that the signature was not in his own handwriting: "No" answered the Ionian, "I would rather forego my claim than appeal to God with an oath". As the judge hesitated to give his decision, I examined closely the receipt and soon satisfied myself that it was forged, it being written on Government stamped paper which was introduced about two years after the date affixed to said receipt. The Judge after scrutinizing the spurious document greeted me with a "Mashallah"* and ordered the defendant to pay the full amount of the debt with accruing interest and to be imprisoned pending his trial for forgery. Mr Newton complimented me on the good start I had made in defence of British interests in Mytilene.

* "God be praised".

As he was satisfied that I was competent to conduct in his absence the current business of the Vice Consulate, he applied to the Ambassador at Constantinople, His Excellency Viscount Stratford de Redcliffe, for leave to visit Smyrna, the Dardanelles and Salonica in connection with his Archaeological researches. He made this expedition early in 1853, leaving me in charge with the sanction of the Ambassador, and returned after an absence of about six weeks. In April he was ordered by His Excellency to proceed to Rhodes to act as Consul during the absence of Mr Consul Kerr, and to leave me in charge of the Vice Consulate. During the time I acted as Vice Consul there, I felt very lonely as there was no congenial society in the place.

Occasionally I visited the Greek Vice Consul, also Mrs Werry, wife of Vice Consul Francis Werry, Mr Newton's immediate predecessor, who was transferred in 1851 from the Vice Consulate of Mytilene to that of Bengazi. I had some shooting, but spent a good deal of my time in trying to improve my knowledge of Turkish, Greek, French and Italian. I also used to visit some of the neighbouring villages in quest of old coins for Mr Newton; generally I was successful in these expeditions, but sometimes I got into trouble with the Duennas of the Community who would drive me away by accusing me of "Searching for black eyes and not for Mangoures" (old coins). During these peregrinations, I also collected information for Mr Newton's report on the resources, trade and condition of the island, which is the largest in the Turkish Archipelago, being about 165 miles in circumference and having approximately 80,000 inhabitants, 70,000 of whom were Greeks and the remainder Mussulmans. The Olive flourishes in the island and its oil is largely employed by the natives in the manufacture of soap. During the period I am writing of, considerable quantities of oil and soap were annually exported from the island to the principal centres of trade in the Levant.

In order to obtain the latest news, I also frequently visited the passenger steamers that touched at Mytilene while plying between Constantinople, Smyrna, Rhodes and Beirut. During one of these visits I came across Mr Noel Moore* one of the sons of Consul General Moore at Beirut, (Syria). He told me that he had been very recently appointed sixth paid Attaché to the Embassy at Constantinople and had orders to proceed there by the earliest opportunity. I congratulated him and wished him all success in the Diplomatic Service. The following week I went on board the Constantinople boat returning to Beirut and was not a little surprised to meet again Mr Noel Moore and to be told by him that it was his brother Lionel who had been appointed Attaché, adding: "the despatch respecting this appointment was addressed to me by mistake. Of course I am somewhat disappointed, but I am glad my brother got the billet instead of someone else. Besides, he is my senior in age and has a perfect knowledge of Arabic, Persian and Turkish".

* Late H.M.'s Consul General at Tripoli.

Mr Newton being in need of my services at Rhodes and knowing that I was anxious to visit that island, proposed to the Ambassador that I should absent myself for a few weeks and leave the Acting French Vice Consul in charge at Mytilene, and His Excellency having kindly approved of this arrangement, I took passage by the first steamer for Rhodes. On my arrival there I was glad to find my chief comfortably installed in a large, commodious and well furnished house with its balconies affording a very pleasant view of the sea. It was by far one of the best houses in the town, was well situated and only a few minutes walk to the Governor General's residence in the fortress, at that time a Pasha of "Three Tails"! I was also very glad to make the acquaintance of Mr Alfred Biliotti* who had acted as Mr Consul Kerr's Dragoman and Clerk.

As he was well acquainted with the island and its inhabitants, and had besides a strong penchant for antiquities, Mr Newton, on the recommendation of Mr Kerr, approved of his continuing to serve at the Consulate. Biliotti who was educated at Smyrna, was a good linguist for, besides English, he had a good knowledge of the French, Greek, and Italian languages.

* The eldest son of Mr Charles Biliotti, British Vice Consul at Scio, now Sir Alfred Biliotti K.C.M.G; C.B; who replaced me as H. Majesty's Consul General at Salonica.

As the official business of the Consulate at Rhodes was not very important at that time, Mr Newton made frequent journeys into the interior of the island accompanied by Colnaghi or Biliotti and left me in Charge. He had, however, the following somewhat serious case to attend to at Cos (Stankio), a small island not far from Rhodes. An Ionian citizen established in that island complained of having been badly beaten and otherwise ill-treated by some seamen of a Turkish Brig of War, and, as he also declared that the local authorities refused to protect him from further molestation, Mr Newton decided to proceed to Cos to inquire personally into the matter, when very opportunely Her Majesty's Steam Frigate "Sampson" Captain Lewis Jones* put in at Rhodes on her way from Beirout to Besika Bay.

* Popularly known in the Service as "Vinegar" Jones.

Mr Newton explained the case to Captain Jones who readily offered to convey him to Cos and personally assist him in the inquiry. The next day towards evening Mr Newton embarked in the "Sampson" taking me with him to act as Dragoman. On our arrival at Cos the following morning, we called on the Caimacam - Deputy Governor - to whom Mr Newton explained through me the object of the "Sampson"'s presence at Cos, and demanded that the Ionian's case should be immediately examined before the Medjliss (local Court). The Caimacam at first refused, alleging that he could not initiate legal proceedings against seamen of the Navy without an order to do so from the Sublime Porte, but, as Mr Newton insisted and was supported by the somewhat comminatory attitude of Captain Jones, he at last reluctantly complied. As the Medjliss was sitting at the time the enquiry was duly held in our presence. It was proved beyond question that the Ionian was severely beaten and otherwise ill-treated by three seamen of the Brig of War in the presence of their Officer who declined to interfere when appealed to by the plaintiff. The latter was awarded a money compensation of about £18 for the injuries he had sustained, and the three men were sentenced to several months' imprisonment. The Medjliss also ordered that the evidence against the Officer should be forwarded to the Admiralty at Constantinople, and I subsequently heard that the said Officer was only reprimanded.

My Chief and Captain Jones were satisfied with the above sentence and both thanked me for the active and successful part I had taken in the inquiry as Dragoman and Acting Prosecutor for the Consulate. But I should add that it was owing chiefly to the uncompromising demeanour of Captain Jones that the inquiry was held and the matter ended satisfactorily. The Captain on seeing the unyielding mood of the Caimacam got up and strutting towards me exclaimed: "Tell him to order the enquiry at once, otherwise", while pointing towards the "Sampson", "I shall be obliged to bombard the fort", and coming nearer to me, added in a lower tone, "Of course I shall do nothing of the kind". The Caimacam, alarmed by the Captain's excited attitude and by the word "bombard" for he was conversant with that word from his knowledge of Italian, exclaimed: "Aman! Janoom" – (Oh! my soul) "What does he say? What does he want?" I told him that the Captain was very angry and a very determined man and I strongly urged him to hold the enquiry without further ado.

We parted good friends with the Caimacam who, shortly after we returned to the "Sampson" paid us a visit on board. He admired the ship and her guns; was profuse in flattering compliments to Captain Jones and Mr Newton and expressed the hope that they would renew their visit to Cos. Towards evening Captain Jones left with the "Sampson" to join the Fleet at Besika Bay. Mr Newton and I remained in the island three days roaming about in search of antiquities. We also inspected an old plane tree situate in the town and not far from the landing place. It had a circumference of about 18 feet, if I remember well, and its tottering branches were supported by stone pillars. Our Greek Cicerone declared that "of the many eminent men born in this island more than two thousand years ago, two, viz: Hippocrates the Physician and Appelles the Artist, used to sit under the sheltering branches of this tree, the one lecturing on the art of healing and the other depicting animated nature, while now" - he added - "green turbaned Turks are squatted there cross-legged, sipping coffee, smoking Tchibouques and Narghilehs and cursing the Christians." After, on the whole, a very pleasant, interesting and successful expedition, we left Cos in a small Felucca for Rhodes, and the wind being favourable, arrived there early next morning.

CHAPTER 3.

The Earl of Carlisle, Vice-Roy of Ireland, visits Rhodes, is ill with small-pox - A visit to the Pasha, his reception and display of Jasmine Tchibouks - Cruise in H.M's Ship "Firebrand" Captain Hyde Parker - Am relieved as Acting Vice Consul at Mytilene by Mr Granville Murray - Returned to Rhodes and after acting there as Consul during three months, was summoned to Constantinople by Lord Stratford de Redcliffe.

It was shortly after our expedition to Cos that Her Majesty's Ship "Firebrand", Captain Hyde Parker, called at Rhodes with the Earl of Carlisle, Vice-Roy of Ireland, on board, and after a stay of two days continued her cruise to Beyrout and other Syrian ports. The Earl, not feeling quite well, and at the same time wishing to see more of the island, gladly accepted Mr Newton's hospitality till the return of the "Firebrand"; but as the day after he had put up at the Consulate he complained of a severe headache and pains in his back, the Quarantine Doctor, who was considered the best physician in the island, was called. After examining him he declared that His Lordship was suffering from the incipient stage of small-pox. Mr Newton, of course, felt very anxious and after consulting the Doctor at once made the best sanitary arrangements in his power for the patient's comfort and relief. He also summoned Doctor McRaith, an English physician established at Smyrna, and informed Lord Stratford de Redcliffe and Admiral Dundas of the circumstance. In the meantime the patient was most carefully tended by his Valet, and the Quarantine Doctor, assisted by Mr. Newton and his Consular Staff. His Lordship, however, had given strict directions that Biliotti, Colnaghi and myself were on no account to approach the sick room, evidently with the view of protecting us from contagion! One afternoon, however, while I was at work in the Office, the Italian Doctor vociferously called for assistance; I rushed into the sick room and saw the Valet and the Doctor, both aged and not very strong, trying to remove His Lordship from a bath in which he had fainted; I at once helped them and with our united efforts we gently carried him to his sick bed. While we were thus engaged, he had recovered from his fit and on seeing me ordered me away!

About the middle of the month Doctor McRaith arrived from Smyrna, also Dr Rees of H.M's Ship "Britannia", who was sent by Admiral Dundas to tend His Lordship. As both these gentlemen found the invalid convalescing and on the whole approved of the Quarantine Doctor's treatment, Dr Rees returned to Besika Bay and Dr McRaith after a few days left us for Smyrna.

In the meantime Dr H. Sandwith, Hospital Inspector in the Turkish service, arrived from Constantinople on a visit of enquiry as to the Earl's condition. His Lordship cheerfully welcomed this mark of attention from an old friend. I was very glad to make this Doctor's acquaintance for as he was sociable and had a keen appreciation of the political condition of Turkey, I derived very useful information from him on the subject. He left us about the end of the month for Constantinople just as the "Firebrand" returned to Rhodes kindly sent by Admiral Dundas to convey His Lordship to Smyrna and Besika Bay.

As shortly before her arrival Mr Newton had directed me to prepare to proceed to Mytilene to relieve the Acting Vice Consul, Captain Parker very kindly offered to give me a lift to that island. Before we embarked, His Lordship, accompanied by Captain Parker, Mr Newton and myself acting as Dragoman called on the Governor General Ismail Pasha* to thank him for his kind attentions during his illness.

* Grandson of the famous Ali Tepelenli Pasha of Ianina, Capital of Epirus.

We were very courteously received by His Excellency at the foot of the stairs of the Conak (Government House) and escorted by him to the reception room, where we seated ourselves on a richly furnished divan (Sofa) which surrounded the room. The pasha and his staff of numerous attendants appeared surprised and very pleased that His Lordship wore the Red Fez (Turkish head dress) and His Excellency afterwards remarked to me in Greek** "This is a good omen of England's love ("agapy") for Turkey".

** In Epirus Greek and Albanian are the current languages among Christians and Mahomedans.

During the exchange of the usual compliments, very costly pipes were served round by servants, who ceremoniously filed round the room and handed a pipe to each visitor after depositing its bowl in a small silver ashtray, placed on the carpeted floors. These pipes were of Jasmine wood. Each consisted of an entire stem some ten feet long, and was mounted with a massive mouth-piece of lemon coloured amber adorned with rings of precious stones. Coffee followed served in tiny Chinese cups in filagree silver holders studded with small brilliants or diamonds. Vodina*, a small town in Macedonia, about 80 miles from Salonica, long enjoyed a high reputation for its Jasmine pipes. They were made from the long stems of this elegant plant that grew luxuriantly there and in the neighbouring villages, and gave rise to a very profitable industry till about 1880, when it gradually declined owing to the introduction and general use of machine made cigarettes which have now replaced the costly pipes even on occasions of ceremony. Increasing contact and relations with other nations were at this time making changes in the customs of the country: in those days the Connoisseur sought for the best Jasmine pipes at Vodina, but now this is all changed, the country people preparing instead the world renowned Capon for the use of the gourmets of Turkey.

* The ancient Edessa, at one time the Capital of Macedonia and the burial place of some of its kings.

After we had taken leave of the Pasha and embarked in the "Firebrand", His Excellency came on board to return the Earl's visit and wish him good speed to Constantinople. He was received with full honours and during his short call he expressed the earnest hope that England would defend the Sultan and his dominions against Russian aggression.

We weighed anchor the same evening and after a most enjoyable cruise, visiting the islands of Calymnos and Scio on the way, we arrived at Smyrna where we heard that Turkey had declared or was about to declare war against Russia. During the two days the "Firebrand" remained at Smyrna, I accompanied Lord Carlisle on a round of visits to the Turkish Authorities and also to our Consul Mr Brant, and leading English residents, including Mr F. Turrell Head Master of an English private school, whom I had known at Salonica, and a year later was pleased to meet on the battle field of Inkerman in the Crimea while we were both engaged in relieving the wounded.

From Smyrna the "Firebrand" proceeded to Besika Bay, touching at Mytilene on the way, where I landed to resume the duties of Acting Vice Consul. Lord Carlisle and Captain Hyde Parker came on shore with me and had a stroll through the town but with no time to visit the old fortress. In bidding me good-bye, His Lordship thanked me for my attentions during his illness at Rhodes and for my assistance as Interpreter there and at Smyrna. He also wished me success in the Consular Service. Here I may add that it was in a great measure owing to his kind recommendation of me to Lord Stratford de Redcliffe and to the Earl of Clarendon, Minister for Foreign Affairs, that I placed my foot (March 1855) on the first rung of the

Consular ladder. Lord Carlisle renewed his visit to Rhodes early in December in H.M.S. "Wasp" Captain Lord John Hay, and remained one day there.

I had the honour to attend on him as Mr Newton was absent in the interior of the island. Captain Hyde Parker also wished me good luck and I cordially thanked him for the genial kindness and hospitality he extended to me during a most pleasant and interesting cruise, of which I have always retained the warmest recollections. He was beloved by his Officers and men and, although the youngest Post Captain in the service (scarcely 30 years of age) he was considered an Officer of superior merit and would have distinguished himself had he been spared longer to his country. He was killed early in the war with Russia in the vicinity of Sulina on the Danube, where he landed with a boat's crew to protect a small Bulgarian hamlet against Cossack marauders. The latter shot him just as he landed and then decamped. Two young children, one of them a girl scarcely three months old, were found by the crew among a number of massacred Bulgarians, and taken on board the "Firebrand" with the Captain's body. These two infants were cared for and nursed by the Officers and seamen and I afterwards heard that Her Majesty Queen Victoria kindly took them under her tutelage.

I had but a very short innings as Acting Vice Consul at Mytilene, for early in November Mr Granville Murray*, fifth paid Attaché at Constantinople, arrived to replace me. I found him very entertaining but capricious and sarcastic. He told me that Lord Stratford de Redcliffe had taken a great dislike to him and was glad to dispense with his services at the Embassy by sending him to act as "Deputy Assistant Acting Consular Agent" adding "I am grateful he sent me here as I shall pleasantly and usefully employ my time in completing my journal in which I jot down my personal observations of men and things in the Levant". He subsequently sent me a copy of his "Roving Englishman" in which he has humorously described "some Consular incidents" I had mentioned to him.

* Mr Granville Murray was subsequently appointed Consul General at Odessa 1858, which post he held till 1868. (when his services ceased).

After delivering to him the Consular Archives and introducing him to the Governor, I took my departure for Rhodes where I arrived about the end of the month and met with a cordial reception from my Chief and my two young friends Colnaghi and Biliotti. Mr Newton transferred to my charge the current business of the Consulate while he, in company with Biliotti and Colnaghi, made frequent expeditions into the interior of the Island in quest of antiquities. But early in January 1854 he had to go to London on urgent private affairs and with the Ambassador's approval left me to act as Consul in his stead. While so acting I was not overburdened with official correspondence. In view however of the war between Turkey and Russia and the insurrection fomented by Greece in Epirus and Thessaly, I occasionally sent to the Embassy a short report on the quiet condition of the island.

H. M's Consul at Salonica (my father) who was sent by the Ambassador to Thessaly to report on the proceedings of the insurgent bands and on the action of the Ottoman Authorities, kept me well informed of passing events there; and more than once cautioned me against the presence of Greek pirates among the Islands of the Archipelago. It was very difficult to secure reliable information on the subject and I avoided reporting mere rumours. On one occasion, however, a well-informed Greek from the island of Casso brought me some details of depredations alleged to have been committed by pirates on the Asiatic Coast, and as the French Vice Consul and the Italian Quarantine Doctor called on me and confirmed and amplified the Greek's information I, upon the spur of the occasion, on being told by the Quarantine Doctor that the Austrian mail boat was preparing to weigh anchor for Constantinople, hurriedly wrote a short report to the Ambassador on the subject and sent it on board addressed to the care of the

Captain, an acquaintance of mine. By return of post I received a note from Count Pisani, the Archivist of the Embassy, couched to the best of my recollection in the following terms:- "I am to thank you for your report on alleged acts of piracy in the Archipelago and at the same time to return it to you for emendation as it is written in three languages French, Italian and English." I had sent the draft there being no time to prepare a clear copy.

I acted at Rhodes from the first week in January to about the end of March 1854 when Commander Robert Campbell R.N., who was transferred from Dunkirk to Rhodes in the room of Consul Kerr, retired, arrived and relieved me. As he had gone to Constantinople to report to the Ambassador, he brought me a very kind message from His Excellency. I therefore hastened my departure from Rhodes but was sorry to quit my two young friends Biliotti and Colnaghi of whom I have always retained very pleasant recollections. They were both like myself in their teens and on the whole we got on very well together. Mr Newton took great interest in us and encouraged our juvenile zeal for the Consular Service; and it was owing in a great measure to his good will and assistance and to the experience we acquired during our apprenticeship under him that each of us, after passing through the channel of subordinate appointments obtained promotion to the rank of Consul General: Colnaghi at Florence in 1881; Biliotti at Crete in 1898; and I at Salonica (Macedonia) in 1879. We are now retired on pension having respectively served the Country for more than half a century.

Shortly after my arrival at Constantinople, I wrote to Mr Newton, absent in England, that I had applied for service with the Army as Chief Interpreter and begged him to support my application. I at the same time thanked him for the kind interest he took in my prospects and for the confidence and good will he showed to me during all the time I served under him, and of which I have always retained a cordial and grateful remembrance.

BLUNT 1-3 : Persons named (in order of their first appearance):-

Charles Blunt
Binbashi (Major) Moussa Bey
Mr James Hanson
Miss Danforth
Miss Wright
Reverend Dr Meredith
Dr Greig
Donald Grant
V. Hutchinson
M. Battye
Quintin Battye : (at Delhi)
W. Wavell.
F. Tullock : who passed for the Royal Engineers and rose to the rank of General
F.C. Lascelles : The Right Honourable Sir F.C.Lascelles; G.C.B; G.C.M.G; G.C.V.O.
Nouri Effendi
Mr Henry Rasy
Dr Samardjides
Mutessarif (Governor) Kiani Pasha
Viscount Stratford de Redcliffe
Hadji Hussein Pasha
Colonel Henry Synge
Nico
Colonel Hugh Rose C.B.
Calamati
Mr Charles Thomas Newton, Vice Consul at Mytilene
Mr John Bidwell
Mr F. B. Alston
Sir Domenic Ellis Colnaghi, H.M.'s Consul General (retired).
Mr Consul Kerr
Mrs Werry : wife of Vice Consul Francis Werry
Vice Consul Francis Werry
Mr Noel Moore : Late H.M's Consul General at Tripoli
Consul General Moore at Beirout, (Syria)
Mr Lionel Moore
Alfred Biliotti : who had acted as Mr Consul Kerr's Dragoman and Clerk : Sir Alfred
Biliotti K.C.M.G; C.B; replaced Blunt as H. Majesty's Consul General at Salonica
Captain Lewis Jones : * Popularly known in the Service as “Vinegar” Jones
Captain Hyde Parker
Earl of Carlisle, Vice-Roy of Ireland
Doctor McRaith
Admiral Dundas
Dr Rees
Dr H. Sandwith
Governor General Ismail Pasha
Ali Tepelenli Pasha of Ianina, Capital of Epirus
Consul Mr Brant
Mr F. Turrell : Head Master of an English private school
Earl of Clarendon : Minister for Foreign Affairs

Captain Lord John Hay
Mr Granville Murray : fifth paid Attaché at Constantinople: Deputy Assistant Acting
Consular Agent : “Roving Englishman” : Consul General at Odessa 1858, which post
he held till 1868. (when his services ceased).
Count Pisani: Archivist of the Embassy
Commander Robert Campbell R.N.

BLUNT I-III : Persons named (in alphabetical order):-

Ali Tepelenli Pasha of Ianina, Capital of Epirus
Mr F. B. Alston
M. Battye
Quintin Battye : (at Delhi)
Mr John Bidwell
Alfred Biliotti : who had acted as Mr Consul Kerr's Dragoman and Clerk : Sir Alfred
Biliotti K.C.M.G; C.B; replaced Blunt as H. Majesty's Consul General at Salonica
Charles Blunt
Consul Mr Brant
Calamati
Commander Robert Campbell R.N.
Earl of Carlisle, Vice-Roy of Ireland
Earl of Clarendon : Minister for Foreign Affairs
Sir Domenic Ellis Colnaghi, H.M.'s Consul General (retired).
Miss Danforth
Admiral Dundas
Donald Grant
Dr Greig
Hadji Hussein Pasha
Mr James Hanson
Captain Lord John Hay
V. Hutchinson
Governor General Ismail Pasha
Captain Lewis Jones : Popularly known in the Service as “Vinegar” Jones
Mutessarif (Governor) Kiani Pasha
Mr Consul Kerr
F.C. Lascelles : The Right Honourable Sir F.C.Lascelles; G.C.B; G.C.M.G; G.C.V.O.
Doctor McRaith
Reverend Dr Meredith
Mr Lionel Moore
Mr Noel Moore : Late H.M's Consul General at Tripoli
Consul General Moore at Beirout, (Syria)
Binbashi (Major) Moussa Bey
Mr Granville Murray : fifth paid Attaché at Constantinople: Deputy Assistant Acting
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he held till 1868. (when his services ceased).
Mr Charles Thomas Newton, Vice Consul at Mytilene
Nico
Nouri Effendi
Captain Hyde Parker
Count Pisani: Archivist of the Embassy
Mr Henry Rasy
Dr Rees

Colonel Hugh Rose C.B.
Dr Samardjides
Dr H. Sandwith
Viscount Stratford de Redcliffe
Colonel Henry Synge
F. Tullock : who passed for the Royal Engineers and rose to the rank of General
Mr F. Turrell : Head Master of an English private school
Vice Consul Francis Werry
Mrs Werry : wife of Vice Consul Francis Werry
W. Wavell.
Miss Wright

‘Blunt Speaking’:

The Crimean War Reminiscences of
John Elijah Blunt, Civilian Interpreter

by Dr Douglas J Austin



The Charge of the Heavy Brigade:
The Royal Scots Greys attack the Russian Cavalry.
(Battle of Balaklava, 25th October, 1854)

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Members of this Society (<http://www.crimewar.org/>) and of the Yahoo Crimean War Group (<http://groups.yahoo.com/group/CrimeanWar/>) have, as always, proved rich sources of stimulus, comment, information, argument and enlightenment. Dr Colin Smith, then a Group member, first drew attention to the existence of the ‘Blunt Papers’ in 1999.

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A. *Introduction.*

Late in 1902, Mr John Elijah Blunt retired, after 52 years of employment in the British Consular Service, and joined his wife (née Fanny Janet Sandison) and his son on the island of Malta. Their son, Captain Osmond Donald Blunt (formerly of the Connaught Rangers), was subject to chronic illness and died aged 45, in 1915, followed by his father, aged 83, in 1916. Lady Fanny Blunt, the author of *The People of Turkey* (1878) and *My Reminiscences* (1918), died aged 87, in 1926. The Blunts were buried in their family tomb (Plot 4, Vault 28 in the *Ta'Braxia* cemetery), which was severely damaged during World War II.

Lady Blunt left most of her property to Miss Jeanne Paluizza, her lady companion, who was her adopted daughter from some time after April, 1923, when Lady Blunt made her Will. Miss Paluizza died, aged 57, in 1928 and was buried in the Santa Maria Addolorata cemetery as ‘Miss Jeanne Paluzzo Blunt’. She may not have left a Will, but her sister (a Mrs. Pandellis of Salonica) was her heir. That sister may have died with neither a Will nor an heir. The Blunt Papers remained in Malta and were stored in a lawyer’s office until 1930, when the residue was transferred to the father of the present owner, who deposited them in the Special Collections Department of the University of Birmingham in 1994. Their contents, important for students of the Eastern Question, are indicated in:- www.is.bham.ac.uk/ppm/publications/rlb/autumn94.pdf.

Born in Smyrna on 14 October, 1832, John Elijah Blunt was the son of Charles Blunt, HM Consul at Smyrna, and of Caroline Vitalis, daughter of HM Consul at Tinos, and had many family ties to the Consular Service. After education privately and at Smyrna College and Kensington Grammar School, he entered that service in 1850. From April, 1854, he served as civilian First Class Interpreter, secretary and, although a civilian, as an aide-de-camp to Lord Lucan during the Crimean War. He was present at the battles of the Alma (20 September), Balaclava (25 October) and Inkerman (5 November), all in 1854. He left the Crimea, after Lord Lucan’s recall in mid-February, 1855, to rejoin the Consular Service.

After his Crimean experiences, he held various consular appointments in Uskub (now Skopje), Adrianople (now Edirne), Belgrade and Bitholia (now Bitola). He was appointed HM Consul-General for Salonica⁷ (now Thessaloniki), 1879-1899. During that period, he dealt with many ransom episodes with brigands and with many outbreaks of religious strife. Finally, he was appointed HM Consul (with the rank of Consul General) at Boston, 1899-1902. (That apparently incongruous final appointment was made as a means of enhancing his pension.) He was created Companion of the Bath on August 30, 1878, in recognition of his humanitarian and other work during the Russo-Turkish War⁸, and was knighted, in Malta, by King Edward VII in 1902. Sir John’s Obituary and Statement of Services, which appeared in *The Daily Malta Chronicle* on June 22, 1916, is reproduced in Appendix J1.

The Blunts were very active in the social life of Malta. Lady Blunt was well-known as ‘Aunt Fanny’ to her group of ‘extraordinary nephews’, rising young officers in the British Navy. Sir John, for his part, became the first Honorary President of the Boy Scouts of Malta in 1907. In addition, he was appointed Honorary Commandant of the Mediterranean for the ‘Legion of Frontiersmen’ in 1912, with Malta as the regional HQ.

⁷ As an aside, John Blunt (when Consul in Salonica) rescued a very fine Greek 2nd century AD inscription and donated it to the British Museum as BM GR 1877.5-11.1.

⁸ Briefly mentioned in the *Illustrated London News* for 8th September, 1877 p 219.

The ‘Legion of Frontiersmen’, which still exists and which boasts extensive literature, was formed in 1904 by Roger Pocock to be ‘The eyes and ears of the Empire’. This remarkable organisation⁹ came close to becoming the official British intelligence gathering and counter-intelligence entity, later undertaken by the precursors of M.I.5 and M.I.6. It has had many distinguished members, ranging from Prince Louis of Battenberg (Director of Naval Intelligence in 1905) to General Smuts, from Arthur Conan Doyle to Edgar Wallace. Politicians like Leo Amery, newspaper tycoons like Viscount Burnham, all served the Legion. In its halcyon days before 1939, it attracted adventurers, authors and naturalists, such as William le Queux, F.C. Selous, Cherry Kearton, Rider Haggard and Erskine Childers of ‘*The Riddle of the Sands*’ (and other) fame. Some of the names and stories are surprising, such as the claim that Frontiersmen were the first British Troops in action in 1914.

From the content of his papers and from his wife’s descriptions, Sir John was imbued with the imperial spirit and was a Turkophile. Certainly, he was an assiduous note-taker all his life. His writing is clear and candid, with the unusual and most praiseworthy feature that he tells us when he has forgotten or is uncertain about people or events. He certainly drew largely on his own Crimean War notebook for the details of his reminiscences. That notebook would be extremely interesting to historians but, despite very wide-ranging enquiries, it has not yet come to light. It was one of the treasured items rescued from a major fire in Adrianople in September, 1890 and it was seen, together with the first draft of Lucan’s letter to Raglan, in 1896, by Lord Mersey - as recorded in his letter dated 7 December, 1941 (Appendix J2). My search for that notebook continues; suggestions as to its whereabouts would be most welcome.

Sir John may have intended his ‘Reminiscences’ to begin with Chapter 1: ‘*Family and Background*’, Chapter 2: ‘*Childhood and Education*’ and Chapter 3: ‘*Early Days in the Consular Service*’. Those chapters have survived, but I have used only his undated drafts of Chapters 4 to 10 (Sections B-H), some in both manuscript and typewritten versions. While Chapter 10 deals mainly with Blunt’s career post-Crimea, it does contain some relevant notes and it is included for completeness. Some details on named individuals are presented (in Section I) as ‘*Brief Biographies*’.

Sir John certainly sent copies of his Chapter 6 (‘Battle of Balaklava’) to Commander Reginald Yonge R.N., to the 4th Earl of Lucan (the former Lord Bingham) and to Sir William Howard Russell, for informed comment. As a further example, the National Army Museum holds a number of items related to Sergeant Frederick Peake (1832-1906), formerly of the 13th Light Dragoons, who took part in the battle. They include a late typewritten draft (NAM 1956-10-47-7) of Blunt’s Chapter 6, which I have used in this publication. A full list of the source documents is given in Appendix J7.

Many of Sir John’s papers, dating from 1864 to 1886, are to be found in the British Library, the National Library of Scotland, and elsewhere, but it appears that none of them relate to the Crimean War. For the present work, I have taken the available manuscript drafts of his Crimean services as my primary sources because the manuscript versions tend to be more outspoken than the typescripts. They have been combined with the later typewritten variations to generate the final Chapter texts (B-H), with footnotes from the Expert Panel and myself. In addition, I have appended the full texts of articles from ‘*The Daily Malta Chronicle*’ for 1904 (Appendix J3) and 1908 (Appendix J5) - with a note on his article in 1910 - which present Sir John’s final accounts of his experiences of battle.

⁹ For more information, see <http://www.frontiersmenhistorian.info/>.

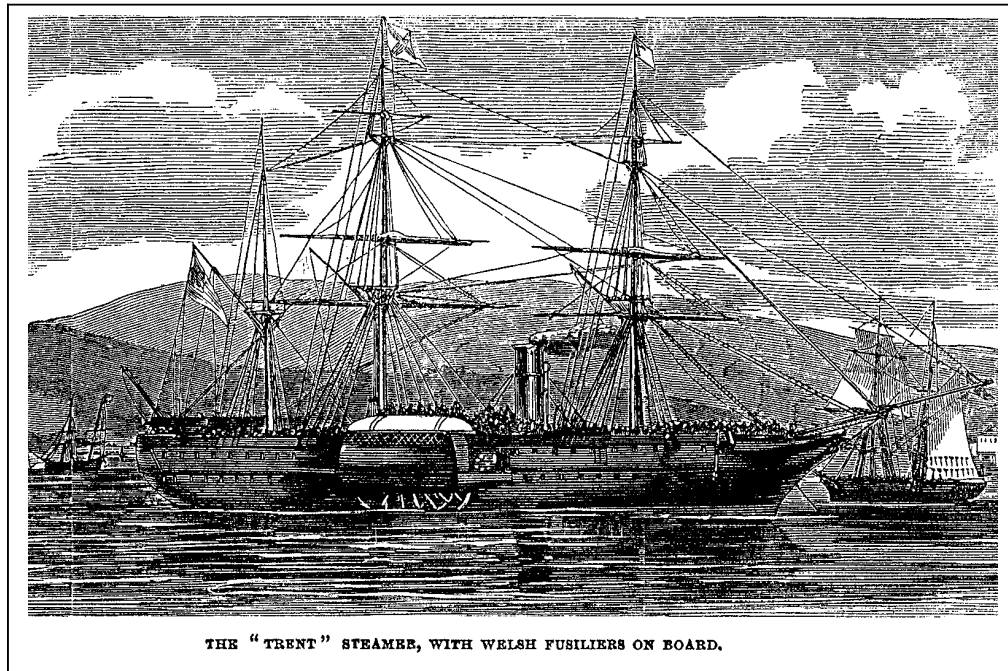
While a picture or photograph of John Blunt has yet to be found, he is shown in an engraving from the *‘Illustrated London News’* for 15th December, 1877, during his service in the Russo-Turkish War (Appendix J6).

In summary, these reminiscences offer, with much else, a very rare first-hand eyewitness account of the moment when, on the field of Balaklava, Captain Nolan delivered the fatal 4th Order to Lord Lucan, who then launched the disastrous ‘Charge of the Light Brigade’ - with his detested brother-in-law, the Earl of Cardigan, in command.

A minor episode in some respects, the journalistic skills of William Howard Russell and the poetry of Alfred Tennyson later combined to ensure that the ‘Charge’ will be remembered when much else is forgotten. Even to this day, further evidence is emerging which ensures that it will remain a matter of deep controversy.

B. ‘Off to the Crimea!’

[Blunt’s ‘Chapter 4’ : Sources: D-01, D-02 and D-03]



RMS ‘Trent’ at Gallipoli : ‘Illustrated London News’, May 27, 1854

ARRIVAL AT CONSTANTINOPLE - APPOINTED FIRST CLASS INTERPRETER TO THE CAVALRY DIVISION UNDER LORD LUCAN - CHOLERA AND GREAT FIRE AT VARNA - INVITED BY ADMIRAL HORNBY¹⁰ ON BOARD HIS FLAG SHIP - ALLIED TROOPS EMBARK FOR THE CRIMEA - RENEW ACQUAINTANCE WITH CAPTAIN (VINEGAR) JONES.¹¹

I embarked early in April in the Austrian mail boat for Constantinople, touching at Smyrna and afterwards at Mytilene where it remained about two hours to land and ship passengers.

I went on shore to pay a visit to Mr. Granville Murray (acting as British Vice-Consul) but found he was absent in the interior of the Island. Next morning we entered the mouth of the Dardanelles and, after complying with the quarantine regulations, we proceeded to Constantinople touching at Gallipoli where British and French troops were disembarking from numerous transports. General Sir George Brown had already arrived there. Early the following morning we entered the Golden Horn during a bright sunrise.

I hastened to land and went with my belongings to Dr. H. Sandwith’s lodgings in Pera. He cordially welcomed me and treated me most kindly during the few days I enjoyed his hospitality.

After replenishing my wardrobe at Lauries, the only English tailor then in Constantinople, I went to the embassy and was kindly received by Count Pisani.

¹⁰ An error: Vice-Admiral Sir James Dundas commanded the British Fleet.

¹¹ Captain Lewis T. Jones, H.M.S. ‘Sampson’ - (see ‘Brief Biographies’).

He sent my name in to the ambassador who summoned me to his presence. On entering his cabinet I found him standing near his desk¹², with a voluminous document in his hand. He nodded and motioned me to a chair. After he had finished reading the document, he chuckled it aside and remarked to me: ‘I have wasted half an hour, reading that report (pointing to it) from a consul who should have condensed in two or three sheets the information he has spread out in a quire of foolscap. Avoid writing long reports, young man.’ My visit was short but promising. His Excellency expressed his approval of my services at Mytilene and Rhodes and also his appreciation of the kind attentions I had shewn Lord Carlisle, and, in dismissing me, told me to attend at the Chancery where Count Pisani would have work for me. Just as I was leaving he asked me ‘Have you come across any more Pashas and Bishops fraternising and embracing each other surrounded by dancing girls?’¹³ ‘Not yet, my Lord’ I answered and hurried away as the French Ambassador was announced.

I always bore in mind Lord Stratford’s warning against writing long reports and took care to make those I sent in as concise as possible.

In compliance with His Excellency’s directions, I went every day to the Embassy and was there employed in making translations of French and Greek letters, and also in preparing copies of reports for transmission to the Foreign Office. While so occupied I learned that the British War Office had decided to form a corps of Interpreters to be divided into three classes for service with our Army in Turkey. The Pay of the First Class being fixed at £1 per day besides rations, ‘bat’ money and forage for one horse. Being young and full of enthusiasm for the Army, I at once addressed a letter to Lord Stratford de Redcliffe begging him to recommend me to the Military Authorities for employment in this Class.

Shortly after I sent my application, Lord Raglan arrived at Constantinople and, as I had received no answer from Lord Stratford, I was about to renew it, when I was honoured with an invitation from His Excellency to dine at the Embassy.

On my arrival there, I accompanied Count Pisani with some of the Attachés into the reception room where, shortly after, we were joined by Lord Stratford accompanied by Lord Raglan and Colonel Steele, the Military Secretary. The other guests were all members of the Embassy and among their number, if I remember well, were Brodie, Hughes, Doria and Lionel Moore (Attachés).

His Excellency conducted Lord Raglan to the dining room and placed him on his right, Colonel Steele sat on his left. I was put opposite Lord Raglan. The conversation, almost entirely between the Ambassador, Lord Raglan and Colonel Steele, was on the generalship of the ‘Serdar-i-Ekrem’ (Generalissimo) Omar Pasha, his campaign on the Danube, and the condition of the Turkish Troops. Lord Raglan also referred to the importance of establishing a central Military hospital in some salubrious locality in the Levant and remarked that, at the War Office, the Dardanelles was mentioned to him as a healthy and salubrious centre; whereas at Malta he had been recommended to select Smyrna or one of the islands of the Archipelago.

¹² ‘The rebuilt Embassy was pleasantly situated off a square half way along the narrow Grande Rue de Pera... Passing through the entrance and being greeted by courteous staff in a wide palm court was like entering a different world... I was offered coffee by one of his personal staff who pointed out with pride the new ‘English’ garden that was being constructed at the rear of the building... Finally I was led up a grand staircase and through the first-floor ballroom to Lord Stratford’s book-lined office overlooking the garden. He was writing at a large roll-top desk.’; Philip Marsh, *‘Beatty’s Railway’*, New Cherwell Press, 2000, p 65. The present Embassy is close by.

¹³ This intriguing episode may be described in Blunt’s ‘Chapter 3’.

Lord Stratford upon this remarked ‘If Your Lordship wants information on these islands, I would recommend you to apply’, pointing me out with his hand, ‘to Mr Blunt who has visited most of them.’, or words to that effect. Lord Raglan looked at me and we exchanged bows. Shortly after we left the dining room, Count Pisani introduced me to Colonel Steele.

In the course of our conversation, the Colonel asked me how long I had been in Turkey, what islands I had visited and the languages I knew, etc. On my answering these questions, he abruptly remarked to me ‘I have heard that you wished to serve as Interpreter with the Army?’, adding ‘If so, you should send me a formal application for Lord Raglan.’ – this I did the next morning and on the following day I received a kind note from the Colonel stating that, on the recommendation of Her Majesty’s Ambassador, I was selected for service as First Class Interpreter with the Cavalry Division under Lt. General the Earl of Lucan. I was not only delighted but also greatly appreciated the encouragement given to my ambition so very kindly by Lord Stratford de Redcliffe, and I at once addressed a letter to His Excellency expressing my grateful thanks for the condescending and obliging manner in which he brought my name to the favourable notice of Lord Raglan. I subsequently waited on Lord Lucan at his camp at Scutari and was favourably received by him. He asked me what languages I knew and where and in what capacity and how long I had served in Turkey. In dismissing me, he told me that I was to serve under his immediate orders and to consider myself a member of his Staff. I was afterwards told by Count Pisani that the Ambassador had also spoken well of me to His Lordship.

Besides my interpreting duties, I also frequently acted as His Lordship’s Secretary most of the time I served under him at Constantinople, Varna and the Crimea (April 1854 to February 1855). While at Constantinople in May and June, I accompanied him in his interviews with the Turkish authorities for procuring suitable quarters for the regiments of his division.¹⁴ After the usual oriental dilatoriness, the Kouleli¹⁵ Barracks on the Bosphorus were placed at his disposal and a suitable house at Tchengel-Kioi, also on the Bosphorus and in the vicinity of the Barracks, was selected for his personal use.

I also accompanied him to the bazaars at Stamboul and on his visits of courtesy to some of the Pashas at their country houses on the Bosphorus. One of [these] dignitaries, Kibrisli Mohmed Pasha, spoke French and was married to an English lady. He was an upright and liberal-minded official and belonged to the party of reformers under Aali¹⁶ and Fuad Pashas. As will be seen later on, the admiration which I had for this Turkish official was fully warranted by the energetic action and the ready assistance which he was at all times prepared and did give to all public officials, including myself in one very important case.

Constantinople, during the period I am writing of, was full of adventurers of almost every nationality, chiefly Hungarian, Polish, Italian, French and English, most of them candidates for commissions in the Turkish Armies. There were also Levantines,

¹⁴ Blunt is mentioned (not by name) by General Sir Charles Pyndar Beauchamp Walker; ‘Days of a Soldier’s Life’, Chapman and Hall, London, 1894: p 44; ‘June 18th (1854) - ... After all the morning’s work was done, I had to go over with Lord Lucan to buy stores, as he had put off doing this to the last moment. To mend the matter, when we got to Galata he took it into his head that he would not do it, and ran off with the interpreter to Pera, where everybody speaks French, leaving me to make all the purchases in Constantinople, with a man to help me who could not speak as much Turkish as I can.’

¹⁵ Also known as Kulali and Koulalli.

¹⁶ Named as ‘A’li’ Pasha in ‘*The Life of Stratford Canning*’ by S. Lane-Poole, Longmans, Green, 1888. (Rod Robinson, personal communication.)

Greeks, and Armenians, offering their services as Dragomans¹⁷ to our Army. Several of the Levantine candidates were appointed Second Class Interpreters for service under Brigadier Generals, while Armenians and Greeks were enrolled in the Third Class and attached to the Regiments – but many of them resigned or deserted when the Army was preparing to occupy the Crimea. I should add that the First Class Interpreters were all Englishmen and were especially selected as such for service with the Divisional Generals. I knew most of them, especially Mr Henry Suter who was our Doyen in point of age and served at Head Quarters under Sir Richard Airey, Quarter Master General of the Army. He was rather aged, for he entered the Consular service in 1833, a year after I was born and, after serving as Vice Consul at Trebizond and Erzeroum, was promoted Consul in 1841, at Kaïssariah¹⁸ in Asia Minor, which appointment he held till 1852, when he resigned.

Sometime before Lord Lucan and Staff left Constantinople for Varna, a serious and singular incident occurred at Kouleli. As I was not present, I give the details to the best of my recollection as described to me by eye-witnesses:

A British sailing transport with horses for the Cavalry had arrived and was moored to the embankment immediately opposite and quite close to the Barracks. After the animals were put on shore, most of the sailors landed, got very drunk and into trouble with the local Zaptiehs (police). As one of the latter was seriously wounded in the affray, the villagers, Turks, Armenians and Greeks, went to their assistance and forced the seamen to beat a hasty retreat, some of whom, when they got on board, fired the ship's two guns on the Barracks but fortunately without injuring anyone. In the meantime, a squad of our troopers arrived on the spot in time to prevent further mischief. They arrested and handcuffed the drunkards who next day were conducted to Pera to be imprisoned at the Consulate General pending their trial.

In July, Lord Lucan with most of his Staff left Constantinople to join the Army at Varna. On our arrival there, the Quarter Master General fixed our encampments on a high ridge overlooking both the town and harbour. I had a tent to myself which was pitched in the vicinity of the Marquee occupied by Lord Lucan, and not far from the camp of the Inniskillen¹⁹ Dragoons.

The Light Brigade, under Major-General Lord Cardigan, and most of the Heavy Brigade, under Major-General Scarlett, were encamped at Devno²⁰ to the north-west of Varna. Cholera Morbus²¹ had broken out and was committing ravages among the British, French and Turkish troops and, shortly after our arrival, the Inniskillens were infected by the contagion from this disease. As the Regimental Assistant Surgeon, Dr Boate, was in need of assistance, I used to accompany him on his rounds to the Hospital tent to tend the sick. Captain Morris, D.A.A.G. on Lord Lucan's staff, suffered from the milder form of this epidemic (Cholera Diarrhoea) from which he happily recovered owing to his strong constitution and the careful treatment of Dr McDonald²², Principal Medical Officer on the Staff.

¹⁷ **The *dragomans* were nearly always members of Levantine families who had lived in Constantinople for generations, and, on account of their knowledge of the languages, were supposed to be indispensable.**

¹⁸ **Now Kayseri.**

¹⁹ **Inniskilling. Blunt persistently uses the wrong spelling.**

²⁰ **Devna.**

²¹ **The virulent form of cholera, capable of killing within hours.**

²² **Incorrect. This was Dr Alexander Macdonell- (see ‘*Brief Biographies*’).**

The sufferings I then witnessed were most heartbreaking. Some of the sick were past recovery and expired before us after great agony. But on the whole our Army suffered much less from this epidemic than the French and Turkish Armies - chiefly owing, I was told by Dr McDonald Principal Medical Officer on Lord Lucan's Staff, to the superior sanitary conditions of our camps.²³

Shortly after the disease infected our encampment, I received a very kind letter from Admiral Dundas (a very old friend of my uncle Mr John Blunt, the Master in Chancery²⁴) inviting me to be his guest for a few days on board his flag ship '*Britannia*'.

Although I would have enjoyed the change and Lord Lucan kindly gave his consent, I respectfully declined the invitation as I felt, enjoying as I did good health, I should not absent myself on a pleasure trip while sickness prevailed in our camp. Shortly afterwards, I met the good old Admiral at Varna and, in renewing my thanks, explained to him the feelings that urged me to decline his very kind invitation. He expressed his approval, and the wish that I should pay him a visit on board his flag ship, but I had never an opportunity to do so.

It was early in August, if I remember well, while preparations were being made for a descent on Odessa or the Crimea, that a fire broke out at Varna towards sunset and destroyed half of that town.²⁵ We could see distinctly from our camp the progress of the flames and the troops trying to extinguish them. As the fire was approaching our Commissariat stores in the vicinity of the Turkish quarter, Lord Lucan sent me to inquire.

I cantered down to the town and with great difficulty succeeded in finding my way to the house of Mr Charnaud, a British merchant of my acquaintance, where I stabled my pony. In the meanwhile the fire, fanned by a strong sea-breeze, made considerable headway and, after destroying the bazaar shops, it invaded other parts of the town and only gradually ceased when the force of the wind subsided. The local Turkish Authorities had no proper means or appliances to deal with this fire, nor could the British and French Troops afford much assistance as their attention was chiefly devoted to protecting their respective stores. Our troops and the fire parties from our fleet in harbour worked splendidly, and incurred great danger in shielding our ammunition and powder magazines from showers of sparks and other ignited matter being carried through the air and falling on their roofs. And in this they were successful; I saw the men by turns mounting on the roofs and covering them with blankets and tent and sail cloths on which the fire engines continuously played torrents of water till the fire in the immediate vicinity had spent itself. Had not the wind subsided, the whole town would have been enveloped in flames as most of the houses and shops were built of wood rendered very inflammable by the prevailing hot summer and very dry weather.

The origin of this fire was a mystery. Many attributed it to Bulgarian and Greek incendiaries employed by Russia for the purpose; but there were people, chiefly Levantine

²³ Despite Dr John Snow's publications (1849, 1851 and 1853) of his classic work on the epidemiology of cholera, Dr Macdonell was, for the time, rare in his apparent appreciation of the source of this disease.

²⁴ Our John Elijah Blunt took his full name from this uncle, who may have inherited his middle name from Elijah Goff (1729-1799), whose daughter married John, son of John Blunt senior (d. 1818), in 1795. John Elijah Blunt (b. 1796) was their eldest son, Charles Blunt (b. 1800) – father of Sir John – their second, and George Blunt (1805-1857?) their third.

²⁵ This took place on 10-11 August, 1854.

merchants, who declared that it was caused by accident. Our loss by this fire was trifling²⁶ as compared with that of the French – while some of our supplies of clothing, boots and shoes, were damaged, most of their large stores of flour, wine, barley and hay were completely gutted. Some shops and houses were plundered not only by the riff-raff of the town, but also, I regret to say, by English, French and Turkish soldiers. Outrages were also perpetrated by drunken French Zouaves. I saw a party of the latter seize a Cantinière, lead her into a bye street and there attempt to take improper liberties with her.²⁷

This conflagration, however, served one good purpose, for by clearing the atmosphere and destroying the seeds of Cholera in the town, it was followed by a sensible diminution of mortality among the troops.²⁸ The orders subsequently received by the allied armies to prepare to embark for the Crimea also contributed to this improvement by dispelling the gloom and despondency that prevailed in the camps, so much so that, towards the end of August, when the embarkation began, there were few cases of sickness among our men.²⁹

At this time the harbour of Varna was literally crowded with transports. The French and Turks had a few steamers, all of small tonnage, but a large number of sailing craft, chiefly barques and brigs, whereas we had some Forty steamers of large tonnage, like the ‘*Simla*’, ‘*Jason*’, ‘*Orinoco*’, ‘*Himalaya*’ and others whose names I now forget. Our numerous sailing transports, about one hundred and fifty in number, also were much larger than the French and Turkish. Our allies completed their embarkation and sailed for Cape Tourkhan, the general rendezvous of the expedition, a few days before us, for they took no Cavalry with them except horses for their Artillery, whereas we had to embark, besides some 25,000 infantry and several batteries of horse and field artillery, the whole of the Light Brigade of Cavalry numbering about 1200 horses.³⁰

Lord Lucan, with the whole of his Staff, embarked, if I remember well, on the 5th September on board the Steamer ‘*Simla*’ which also transported two squadrons of the 4th Dragoons.³¹ Just as I was getting in a boat to take me to the ‘*Simla*’ I met Captain (Vinegar) Jones³² of H.M.S. ‘*Sampson*’, who superintended the embarkation and whom I mentioned in a previous chapter.³³ He addressed me thus: ‘Hullo, young Blunt, what the devil are you doing here?’ and, on my telling him that I had volunteered my services

²⁶ The British losses were described as much greater; ‘the whole of our biscuit and barley has been totally destroyed; and the quartermaster-general’s stores, containing tents, soldiers’ clothing, and field equipage of every description, burnt to the ground’, in ‘*Some Record of the Life of Stevenson* Arthur Blackwood’, Hodder and Stoughton, 1896, p 60. (Rod Robinson, personal communication.)

²⁷ Variant texts:- ‘there ill-treat her’; ‘take liberties with her’.

²⁸ This betrays the common ignorance of the primary source of cholera: water contaminated with the bacterium *Vibrio cholera*.

²⁹ Perhaps not in the Cavalry Division, but many soldiers were dying of cholera at this time, and still more were to do so in the Crimea. (Rod Robinson, personal communication.)

³⁰ Elphinstone’s Vol 1 of ‘*Journal of the Siege of Sebastopol*’ shows a total of 1530 cavalry horses, p 268. (Rod Robinson, personal communication.)

³¹ Yes: 320 men and horses, towing 2 transports, No 1 and No 34, with 54 men and horses each of the 17th lancers – Elphinstone, p 268. (Rod Robinson, personal communication.)

³² This is Captain Lewis T. Jones: A brief service history is available in ‘*Allen’s Navy List 1855*’ (Rod Robinson, personal communication.)

³³ That chapter has survived.

added, ‘Are you going to frighten Menchikoff³⁴ as you did the Governor of Cos?’³⁵ He wished me ‘All good luck’.

In the following two or three days, our transports were convoyed to the general rendezvous where all the numerous French and Turkish transports had already assembled under the protection of the formidable allied fleets. All together they formed a grand and most imposing armada in which England by the greater number and size of her warships and transports exhibited her maritime pre-eminence!

Our transports were formed into six divisions. The ‘*Simla*’, ‘*Jason*’, ‘*Himalaya*’ and ‘*Trent*’ each towing two or three merchant-men with the Light Brigade of Cavalry and Horse Artillery on board³⁶ were in the fifth division. Each of these transports hoisted a red and blue flag; and, during the night, at its masthead a number of lights to indicate the division to which it belonged.

It was in this formation that all the Expedition was convoyed by the Fleet to the western coast of the Crimea. Eupatoria (Ghiuz-leve, in Turkish) was first occupied³⁷ without any opposition; and next day (Sept 14th) the transports were convoyed lower down the coast and anchored opposite to the remains of an old fort situate about halfway between Eupatoria and the mouth of the Alma river (Elma (in Turkish) apple). The disembarkation of most of the allied troops was successfully accomplished, for by the evening some forty thousand infantry beside several batteries of artillery were put on shore.

Owing however to a heavy surf the following two days, the landing of the remainder of the troops, including our Artillery and Commissariat stores, was not completed till the 17th of September. In the meantime, we were not disturbed by the enemy; and the country people, chiefly Mahomedan Tartars, seeing that we did not molest them and readily paid them for the supplies we required, furnished us with sheep, flour and barley, besides wagons and carts, most of them drawn by oxen. I was ordered by Lord Lucan to obtain information from the Tartars visiting the camp regarding the number and positions of the Russian Troops in the peninsula, but I could secure no definite details on the subjects further than that most of these troops were encamped on hills near the Alma - a river that has become of historic importance - that they were commanded by Prince Menchikoff and that strong reinforcements were expected from Odessa via Perekop. The feelings of these Tartars were decidedly anti-Russian. They complained not so much of their landlords as of the Government and Provincial Authorities for putting restraints upon the free exercise of their religion, and for this reason, they appeared to welcome us as friends!

³⁴ **Menshikoff, Menschikoff, Menshikov – Kniaz (Prince) Alexander Sergeievitch Menschikoff (1789-1869), heavily involved in the negotiations before the Crimean War. Commander of the Russian forces in the first half of the war, including the Battles of the Alma and Inkerman. Relieved of command in March, 1855.**

³⁵ **This episode may be described in Blunt’s ‘Chapter 3’.**

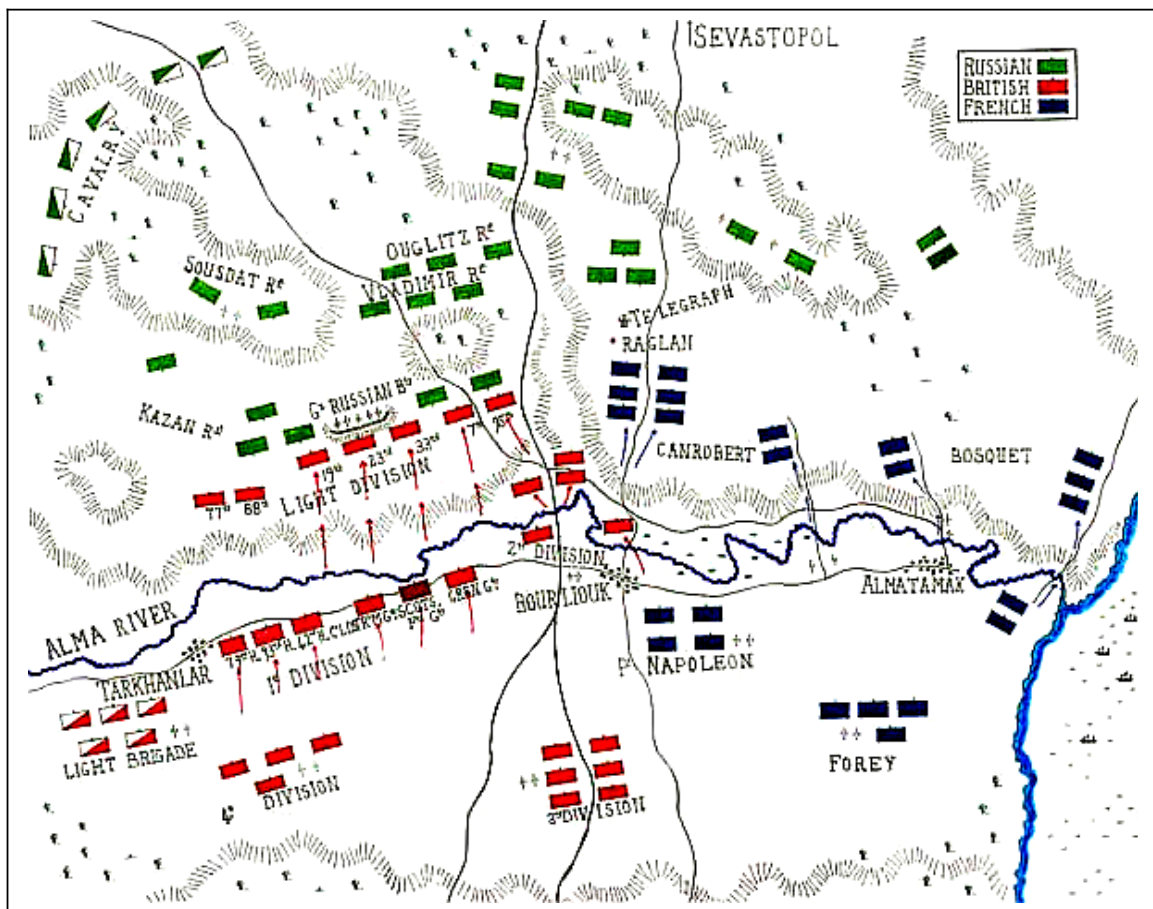
³⁶ **Elphinstone’s ‘*Journal of the Siege of Sebastopol*’ does not state that the Horse Artillery were there. However, in ‘*The Life of Arthur Vandeleur*’, who was a lieutenant in ‘I’ troop, RHA, there is confirmation that the cavalry’s horse artillery were transported in the ‘*Pyrenees*’ (no 1), ‘*Kenilworth*’ (no 40), ‘*Harbinger*’ (no 61) and ‘*Burmah*’ (no 85). Engineer stores were also in this division. (Rod Robinson, personal communication.)**

³⁷ **Eupatoria was not occupied by the Allies at this time.**

It was on the 18th that the troops received orders to be ready to march early next morning and to be provided with bread, biscuit and salt meat for three days, also that the heavy baggage should be returned to the transports. In the following chapter I shall endeavour to give some description of our advance towards the enemy, which led to the glorious battle of the Alma.

C. *‘Advance to the Alma and to Balaklava.’*

[Blunt’s ‘Chapter 5’ : Sources: D-05 and D-06]



The Battle of the Alma : September 19th, 1854:

(www.britishbattles.com)

ADVANCE OF THE ALLIED ARMIES – AFFAIR OF BULGANAC – BATTLE OF THE ALMA – INCIDENTS ON THE BATTLEFIELD – MARCH TO AND OCCUPATION OF BALAKLAVA – INVESTMENT OF SEBASTOPOL – FAILURE OF FIRST ATTACK BY LAND AND SEA.

It was about two hours after sunrise - September 19th 1854 - that the Allied Armies, after sending their heavy baggage on board the transports, got into marching position and began their advance towards the River Alma in the following order. The French, followed by the Turkish troops, marched along the Seacoast and were supported by the fleets, while the British Army, forming the left wing, marched inland, its extreme flank being protected by the Rifles and half of the Light Cavalry Brigade, the other half, with two regiments of Infantry, remaining behind to protect some sick and stores to be shipped in the transports.³⁸

³⁸ Not so. Only a troop of the 4th Light Dragoons remained with two companies of the 46th and the entire 63rd Regiment at the beach. (Rod Robinson, personal communication.)

It was a lovely day accompanied with a bright but hot sun and the allied troops as they moved forward were in excellent humour and marched with all the precision of a parade. They met with no opposition from the enemy till they reached the Bulganac, a small river or stream. Many of our men, who had suffered from the heat of the sun, and want of water, rushed into the river and, while some assuaged their thirst, others took their shoes off and washed their feet thus rendering the water very muddy and foul. In the meanwhile some of the enemy’s Cavalry with a battery of artillery appeared on the slopes of the hills beyond the river and opened fire on our troops.

The Rifles advanced in skirmishing order supported by a regiment of Dragoons and succeeded in holding them in check till a battery of Artillery arrived on the spot and by excellent firing forced them to retire.³⁹ I was in the immediate vicinity of this artillery duel and for the first time under fire, several of the enemy’s cannon balls pitching like cricket balls near or over me. As I did not realize the danger, I was kindly warned away by one of the Officers of the battery. Some young Infantry Officers were also watching this duel and like me received their baptism of fire. One of them, somewhat excited, remarked to me ‘We are sure to get a medal for this!’⁴⁰ Our casualties did not exceed three or four dragoons slightly wounded and a few horses killed.

The enemy having retired, Lord Lucan sent me to a village near the river-side to inquire, but the inhabitants I met and conversed with were not very communicative. They appeared distrustful and complained of being ill-treated and their houses pillaged. Towards evening the armies had crossed the river and bivouacked on the slopes of the hills, immediately above it, which were soon illuminated by numerous bonfires, some of which were fed with chairs, doors and other materials pillaged from the village cottages.

I saw a Zouave carry off a large mirror on his shoulders and pitch it into one of these fires! From all I witnessed and heard, no special measures appear to have been taken by the English or French authorities to protect the country people and their property from ill-treatment.

Next morning, the allied armies advanced in the same formation and disposition as on the previous day. They crossed the Alma under a heavy cannonade from the enemy’s batteries posted on its steep acclivities.⁴¹ Two attempts made by the British Infantry to storm and capture the great redoubt on the Korgouni⁴² hill forming the key to the situation were repulsed after desperate fighting.⁴³ It was at this time that our troops suffered great loss, in fact more than at any other time during the battle and much more than the French and Turks. However, the Highland Regiments, gallantly led by Sir Colin Campbell made the third attack which proved successful,⁴⁴ resulting in the enemy beating a hasty retreat.

³⁹ **The presence of Lord Cardigan and the Light Brigade certainly contributed.**

⁴⁰ **The final medal award criteria laid down that simply landing at Old Fort (or, later, elsewhere in the Crimea, prior to the fall of Sebastopol) was enough to earn the medal. (Mike Hargreave Mawson, personal communication.)**

⁴¹ **Sir John does not describe the complex and time-consuming manoeuvres which preceded the attack, but he was not positioned to do so. (See³⁷, below).**

⁴² **Kourgani, Kourgane or Kurgan (Tartar = ‘Burial mound’).**

⁴³ **Not strictly accurate. There were two attempts made to capture the Great Redoubt – the Light Division took it, but could not hold it, and the Guards Brigade took it a second time. Much of the detail of this action would have been difficult to follow from Blunt’s position with the Cavalry, on the far left of the British position. (Rod Robinson, personal communication.)**

⁴⁴ **In fact, this attack was made on a mass of infantry and on the so-called ‘Lesser Redoubt’. (Rod Robinson, personal communication.)**

I was with Lord Lucan’s staff at the time, and watched with thrilling excitement mingled with surprise and admiration, these splendid regiments advance, as if on parade ground, one after the other in Echelon formation towards the redoubt, storm it and drive the enemy out of it. While the above engagement was in progress the French troops supported by the Turkish contingent had succeeded in their attack on the enemy’s left wing. Lord Lucan, on seeing that the Russians had abandoned the Kourgouni hill and were retreating in great disorder and throwing away their arms and knapsacks, on his own initiative led the Cavalry and Horse artillery in pursuit but was recalled by Lord Raglan.

A few prisoners were made and some of the troopers carried off knapsacks and other spoils from the rout. The allied armies bivouacked on the battlefield, the Cavalry and Rifles not far from the great redoubt on the Kourgouni hill on which Lord Lucan and staff also roosted. We were, I may say, surrounded by killed and wounded, the latter chiefly Russians, as most of the English on that part of the plateau had been removed to the field hospitals near the river. The groans and cries of ‘Wada’ (Russian for water⁴⁵) were most heartrending, and I readily accompanied Dr MacDonell⁴⁶ (Principal Medical Officer of the Cavalry Division) on his rounds to relieve their sufferings. We took with us our water kegs and flasks of brandy, and my servant Murad⁴⁷ with a small paper lantern.

Most of the wounded the Doctor examined were past recovery, being horribly mutilated with ghastly wounds chiefly on their breasts, faces or heads. They appeared comforted with the water and brandy we doled out to them. Some would attempt to kiss the Doctor’s hand, while others feebly uttered the word ‘Blagoudara’ (in Russian ‘Thanks to God’).⁴⁸

On the way back to our bivouac, we came to a row of some ten Russian bodies all covered with their long gray coats. The Doctor found only one of them still alive but in the last agony, being frightfully mutilated. A little dog – a spaniel – that was crouched on the next body jumped up, approached the Doctor, looked at him enquiringly and plaintively and, wagging its tail, returned to its master. It refused the biscuit and water I placed before it, but licked our hands when we caressed it. Next morning, my servant told me that this faithful animal was found by a burial party still guarding the body and was taken possession of by one of them.

In the afternoon, Lord Lucan sent me to the Central Field Hospital established in a farmyard near the river to inquire as to the condition of the wounded. There I saw the Doctors with their coats off – and their shirt-sleeves tucked up to their elbows – tending the most seriously wounded and placing them in charge of seamen from the fleet, who carried them to the coast, about three miles distant, on stretchers formed of oars or poles and hammocks and there put them on board transports to be conveyed to Constantinople. One of the Doctors told me that he and his colleagues had performed some very serious operations and pointed to a corner of the yard in which I saw a heap of amputated legs and arms! He also told me that there were many cholera-stricken soldiers, complained that there were not sufficient Doctors to tend the large number of sick and wounded and praised the officers and men of the Fleet for the gentle and careful manner in which they

⁴⁵ Properly ‘Voda’. ‘Vodka’ means ‘Little Water’.

⁴⁶ Macdonell (see *Brief Biographies*).

⁴⁷ This is Sir John’s only mention of his (presumably Turkish) servant

⁴⁸ Perhaps a mis-spelling of ‘Blagorad(ya)’ = ‘Thank you’? Alternatively, ‘Blagorodnyi’ = ‘noble’ or ‘well-born’ (an acknowledgement of superior social status, like the Cockney’s ‘Thanks, governor!’ or ‘You’re a prince!’ (Mark Conrad, personal communication.) Another informant has told me that ‘Blagodarya’ (note spelling) is the normal Bulgarian word for ‘Thank you’. In Russian it is normally only used in the phrase ‘Blagodarya Boga’ ‘Thank God’. The stress is placed on different syllables in the two languages.”

nursed the sufferers while carrying them to the coast. Just as I was leaving, my attention was called to a wounded soldier being trepanned, who was submitting to this formidable operation without even a groan; but I went away sickened at all the heartrending scenes I had witnessed.

On my way back to Lord Lucan’s quarters, I walked over that part of the battlefield where the regiments of the Light Division, especially the 7th and 23rd Fusiliers, were hotly engaged and suffered so severely. The ground leading up to the redoubt was thickly strewn with killed and wounded, the latter all Russians. Companies of our troops were actively engaged, some in conveying the Russian wounded to the field hospitals and others in removing the dead to be consigned in pits prepared for the purpose; but no clergy were present to perform the funeral rites. At least I saw none.

On approaching the redoubt, I met Mr. A. H. Layard M.P. (The late Sir Austen Henry Layard G.C.B., H.M. Ambassador at Constantinople and an old friend of my father) accompanied by Sir Colin Campbell. When I approached and saluted them Mr. Layard said to me: ‘Look at this pistol, young man.’ It was very like a genuine pistol but, on examining it, I saw that it was made entirely of wood and only its stock was inlaid with iron and brass knobs. Mr. Layard told me that he had taken it from the holster of an artilleryman’s saddle, and at the same time explained that in Russia some Regimental Colonels were entrusted with the purchase and supply of the necessary equipments for their men, a custom that gave rise to similar deceptions and frauds!⁴⁹

On approaching our quarters, I was met by a stranger who handed to me a letter – it was from the Captain of one of our transports. It stated, as far as I can remember, that he knew my father who had shown him much kindness and that, having heard I was serving as Chief Interpreter to the Cavalry Division, he took the liberty to send me some provisions in a hamper in charge of his mate and two seamen and which he thought would be acceptable. I scribbled off a note conveying my grateful thanks to the Captain for his most acceptable gift, and gave a good tip to the seamen.

I regret I cannot produce the Captain’s letter and that I have forgotten his name and that of his ship. The fact is that, as a mail was about to be sent to one of the transports conveying wounded and sick to Constantinople, I had barely time to write a few lines to my father and forward to him the good Captain’s note. The hamper, a pretty large one, contained roasted poultry, a ham, some corned beef and loaves of bread besides butter tea, sugar, etc. It appears the good Captain was a teetotalter, for his very kind gift was not accompanied with any wine or other liquor. During two or three days I was the most popular member of the staff, but my popularity diminished *pari passu*⁵⁰ with the contents of the hamper!

After completing the embarkation of the wounded in transports for conveyance to Constantinople, the allied armies marched forward towards the river Katcha and Balbec. The Cavalry and Horse Artillery under Lord Lucan were ordered to advance and occupy the village of Divankioi near the northern bank of the latter river. They had to descend a narrow and precipitous defile at the bottom of which the village was prettily situated.

I accompanied his Lordship to the cottage of one of the leading inhabitants, a Tartar, whom we found in a state of alarm and excitement. Lord Lucan, through me, reassured him that no harm would befall the villagers, and the Officers and men would pay for any provisions they required. The Tartar bitterly complained of the Cossacks, who had left the village the day before, after occupying it for three or four days during which they plundered and ill-treated the people. On further inquiry, he declared that these Cossacks

⁴⁹ Apparently, not an uncommon event.

⁵⁰ ‘*pari passu*’ = L. ‘with equal step; simultaneously; in proportion with’.

were encamped in a plain about two hours distant from the southern bank of the river Balbec⁵¹ and that they were not with the army at the battle of the Alma. In the meantime, our Videttes posted on the heights above the village reported the presence of small bodies of the enemy’s horse on the hills to the south of the river. His Lordship thereupon ordered Lord Cardigan to prepare to remove the Cavalry and Artillery to the plateau above the ravine which retrograde movement was successfully carried out towards sunset.

Next morning, Lord Lucan led the Cavalry which was joined by the Scots Greys (This splendid regiment, under the command of Col: Griffiths⁵², had disembarked not far from the mouth of the Katcha two days after the battle of the Alma) to the support of Lord Raglan’s famous flank march that was to lead the Army to Balaklava. He arrived in time to attack and disperse the rear guard and baggage train of the Russian Army⁵³, which after its defeat at the Alma was in full retreat from Sebastopol towards Baktché-Serai⁵⁴ and Simpheropol. We made a few prisoners and captured some wagons loaded with provisions and baggage, most of which were plundered by the soldiers.

The Army continued to advance till it reached the banks of the Tchernaya and there it bivouacked to the great relief of the men, especially of the infantry who had suffered much from heat and thirst during their long march, chiefly through forests and thick brushwood. Next morning, 26 September, the army crossed the river: our Rifles with the Horse Artillery and Cavalry occupied the town and plain of Balaklava, while the ‘*Agamemnon*’, the Flag Ship of Rear-Admiral Lyons, entered and took possession of the harbour.

The allied Armies bivouacked in the plain and on some of the surrounding hills till about the 1st of October, when their infantry and artillery took up positions on the heights before Sebastopol, the French with Kamiesh Bay on their left as their base of operations and the British between the right of the French and opposite to the Inkermann⁵⁵ hills. In the meantime, fatigue parties assisted by seamen from the ‘*Agamemnon*’ were very busy disembarking from numerous transports the siege train, provisions and materials, most of which were conveyed to our troops before Sebastopol. Shortly after the fortress was invested⁵⁶ and the siege works were advancing but not so quickly on our side as on that of the French, owing to our having to dig trenches through more or less rocky ground⁵⁷; and it was only a little after sunrise on the 17th of October that the allies began their attack by land and sea.

That morning, Lord Lucan sent me to deliver a letter to General Headquarters and at the same time told me to enquire and report as to the progress of the bombardment. I arrived at Headquarters just as a terrific explosion occurred. This and the roar of the simultaneous furious firing of hundreds of heavy guns on land and sea quite deafened and bewildered me. Before leaving, I met General Airey’s Interpreter, Mr H. Suter, who told me that one of the principal magazines of the French had exploded and that this accident

⁵¹ Belbec.

⁵² Griffith (See ‘*Brief Biographies*’).

⁵³ Hardly a true picture! Lucan was led seriously astray by his guide (Brevet-Major Edward Wetherall) and received a public rebuke from Lord Raglan, who had most unexpectedly come across the rear-guard of a large body of Russian troops leaving Sevastopol. (Rod Robinson, personal communication.)

⁵⁴ Batchiserai ‘*Beautiful Garden*’, former capital of the Crimean Tartars.

⁵⁵ A variant of ‘Inkerman’.

⁵⁶ Presumably, after the opening of the first lines of trenches.

⁵⁷ In 1855, the rocky ground influenced the failure of the two British attacks on the Redan by distancing the British forward trenches from their objectives.

would delay a day or two the assault and fall of the place! Which, as a matter of fact, did not occur until a year after we landed in the Crimea.

Officers I met and conversed with on my way back to our camp also appeared fully sure of this expected early success and I reported as above to His Lordship. Next day, Captain Fellowes D.A.Q.M.G., who was sent to Headquarters, returned with less hopeful news and, in the course of the week, the report came down to our camp that the assault of the place had been deferred till the French had completed their approaches. But our unsuccessful attack by sea and land encouraged the enemy to attempt to drive us out of Balaklava⁵⁸: an attempt that led to a series of very brilliant engagements which will never be forgotten in the history of the world’s battles, notably Balaklava, famous by the charge of the Heavy Brigade and that of the Light Brigade, glorious alike to the Officers and men engaged – some account of which I shall give in the following narrative, founded on my personal observations and reminiscences.

Note : ‘*The Daily Malta Chronicle*’ for Sept. 20th, 1910 included an article entitled:

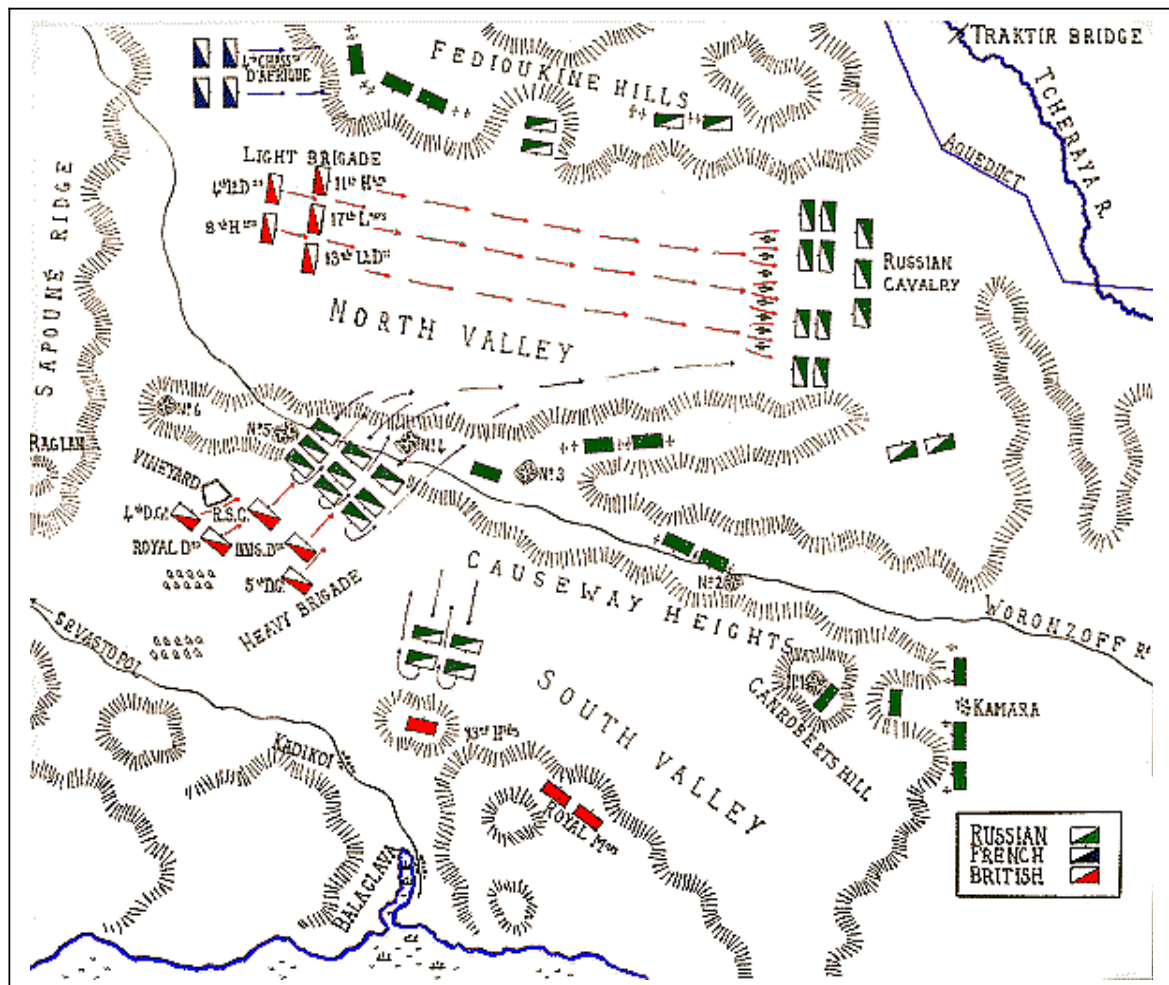
‘THE BATTLE OF ALMA BY ONE WHO WAS THERE.’

This was certainly written by Sir John and is essentially identical with the ‘Chapter 5’ account presented above.

⁵⁸ Quite probably correct. In any event, driving the British from their only sea-port would have been a major success for the Russians.

D. *‘Battle of Balaklava’*

[Blunt’s ‘Chapter 6’: Sources: D-11, D-18, D-19, D-20, D-21, D-23, D-25 and N-01]



The Battle of Balaklava : October 25, 1854

(www.britishbattles.com)

BALAKLAVA - TURKISH REDOUBTS - TARTAR SPIES - ADVANCE OF THE RUSSIAN ARMY UNDER LIPRANDI - THEIR CAVALRY - THE ‘THIN RED LINE’ – BRILLIANT CHARGE OF THE HEAVY BRIGADE - REGIMENTAL BUTCHERS - PERSONAL INCIDENTS - CAPTAIN NOLAN AND LORD RAGLAN’S ORDER - MEMORABLE CHARGE OF THE LIGHT BRIGADE - THE FRENCH CHASSEURS D’AFRIQUE - CAPTAIN THE HONOURABLE R. CHARTERIS - HIS PRESENTIMENT OF DEATH.

The Harbour of Balaklava is about ten miles to the South East of Sebastopol, and has the appearance of a lake, being almost completely landlocked and surrounded by high hills so that its narrow exit cannot be seen except on near approach. It is about one mile long and half-a-mile broad, and has a deep and safe anchorage for large battleships. The small town or rather village of Balaklava is built along the South Eastern side of the harbour and had about one thousand five hundred (1500) inhabitants, chiefly of Greek origin, who were engaged in the fishing industry.

The plain or valley immediately to the North of the Harbour and town is about 3½ miles long and 3 miles broad. It is divided into two almost equal parts by a low range of hillocks, and surrounded towards the West by the heights of Sebastopol, on the North by the Fedoukhine ridge, and the East by the Tchornaya⁵⁹ high hills which also extend towards the South quite close to the harbour. There are two villages in the Southern part of the plain viz., Cadi-kioi⁶⁰ and Kamara whose inhabitants were peaceably disposed and received us with offerings of bread and salt.⁶¹ Cadi-kioi is close the base of the harbour; and Kamara on the hills to the North East about two miles distant from it. The Southern part of the plain when our Army occupied it on the 26th of September, was well cultivated, and contained some detached Cottages surrounded by vineyards and orchards full of ripe grapes, melons and other fruit. Early in October, however, not a bunch of grapes could be found, and in November all the vines and fruit trees were uprooted to feed camp fires with, and even the deserted cottages were wantonly demolished for that purpose by British, French and Turkish soldiers.

As most of the Army, already much reduced by sickness, was encamped on the heights of Sebastopol, engaged in the siege operations, the force detached for the protection of Balaklava, adopted as the base of our supplies, was inadequate for that purpose. It was composed of one regiment of Highlanders – the 93rd – six incomplete battalions of Turkish Infantry Rediffs (Militia), and about 800 Royal Marines to serve some heavy ship’s guns posted on the heights overlooking the plain. These troops were under the orders of Major General Sir Colin Campbell, appointed commandant of Balaklava.

The six Turkish Battalions, scarcely four thousand (4000) strong, were commanded by the Liva (Major General) Rustem Pasha⁶², and the Cavalry Division encamped in the vicinity of Cadi-Kioi was under the separate command of Lt General Lord Lucan. His Lordship, Sir Colin Campbell and the Pasha acted in concert and unselfishly together for the defence of the place.⁶³

Lord Lucan employed detachments of Cavalry in patrolling the Tchornaya Valley and the highway to Baidar, and I had to accompany the Officers in Charge as Interpreter. According to the information we obtained from the country people, chiefly Tartars, during these expeditions, Russian troops were marching from Simpheropol and Baktche-Serai towards the Tchornaya (also called ‘Retchka-Tchornaya’ Small black river). Rustem Pasha also had similar information from his Tartar spies and communicated it to Sir Colin Campbell and Lord Lucan, who forwarded it to Head Quarters with a full report on the exposed position of our base of supplies, and the urgency of increasing its garrison.

Lord Raglan thereupon⁶⁴ ordered a series of redoubts to be made on the range of hillocks that divided the plain of Balaklava into two almost equal parts. These works, six

⁵⁹ Tchernaya, Tchernaiia , Chernaya, Chernaia = ‘Black’.

⁶⁰ Kadikoi, Kadikoy, Kadikioi = ‘Judges’s Village’.

⁶¹ A traditional and ancient offering of welcome and submission.

⁶² This may have been a temporary appointment, in the absence of Selim Pasha because of ill health (see ‘Rustem Pasha’ in *Brief Biographies*).

⁶³ Sir Colin Campbell was placed in command of Balaklava. Although Lucan was the superior officer, he apparently took no offence at that.

⁶⁴ I cannot recall any other suggestion that the Redoubts were constructed in response to Russian troop movements. Russian forces were gathering on this flank from late September/early October with an increasing the threat to Balaklava. The Turks who manned the Redoubts were the inferior part of the contingent brought over from Varna (see *Appendix I*) and the Redoubts were intended to extend the rear defensive line out beyond Kadikoi. (Rod Robinson, personal communication.)

in number, were of a very superficial type, and were hastily constructed by Turkish Troops under the personal direction of English Engineers. I went into most of them shortly after they were made, and, among other defects, I observed that their ditches and parapets were so low, that a horse could have easily leaped over some of them.⁶⁵

Only three of these redoubts were armed⁶⁶, the redoubt (No.1) on Canrobert’s Hill (so called by the French as General Canrobert, after crossing the Tchornaya River, cantered up to the top of the hill to reconnoitre the plain of Balaklava), by far the highest of the range, with three guns, and the two succeeding ones (No.2 and 3) with two guns each, all ships’ iron twelve pounders.⁶⁷ Rustem Pasha told me after the battle that some of the ammunition supplied to these redoubts did not fit the bores of the guns!

The three works, with No.4, were garrisoned by about 1,400 Turkish Rediffs (Militia) from Asia Minor and Tunis, most of whom, I was informed by their Officers, had never been under fire before, or seen any active service.⁶⁸ Some six hundred of these men garrisoned No.1 redoubt, and the remainder were distributed in about equal numbers in Nos.2, 3 and 4 redoubts. Nos.5 and 6 were not armed or manned nor were the works of No.6 completed. One or two days before the incidents which I am about to relate, one of the spies employed by Rustem Pasha swore on the Koran⁶⁹ that the enemy had concentrated behind the Tchorgoun heights 28000 men, including Infantry, Cavalry and Artillery, preparatory to an early attack on Balaklava. This information was communicated by the Pasha to Sir Colin Campbell and Lord Lucan and by them to Head Quarters by Lord Bingham (Lord Bingham was the son and heir of Lord Lucan, and acted as his third A.D.C.) on the 24th of October.

The spy’s report was too soon confirmed, for early next morning, October 25th, while Lord Lucan with his Staff⁷⁰ was riding across the valley of Balaklava towards the above mentioned works, the redoubt No. 1 on Canrobert’s Hill suddenly opened fire⁷¹, which was returned by the Russian Artillery posted in the vicinity of the village of Kamara behind the hill. Lord Lucan, after consulting with Sir Colin Campbell who was also on the spot⁷², sent an Aide-de-Camp to inform Head Quarters of the situation, and other

⁶⁵ Redoubt 6 may have been laid out, but was not built at this time.

⁶⁶ Incorrect: Four were armed. There were 3, 2, 2 and 3 guns in Redoubts 1 to 4, respectively. Later, both the British and the Russians claimed to have spiked the guns in some or all of the redoubts.

⁶⁷ Major Colin Robins of the CWRS has shown that these were not ship’s guns, but 12-pounder siege train artillery. Ten were landed from HMS ‘Gertrude’ and set up in Redoubts 1 to 4. Seven were captured by the Russians from Redoubts 1 to 3 and displayed in the Theatre Square of Sebastopol. Russell reported (correctly or not) his seeing them in Sevastopol after its capture. They may still exist in either the Central Artillery Museum or the Military-Historical Museum of Artillery, Engineering and Communications Forces in St. Petersburg.

⁶⁸ See *Appendix 3*, below, for further details on these ‘Esnan’ troops.

⁶⁹ To swear on the Koran remains a profoundly significant act for any Muslim. Blunt may have been present and has stressed this significant point.

⁷⁰ Lord George Paget’s account (*‘The Light Cavalry Brigade in the Crimea’*, John Murray, 1881, p 161) states that he, Lord W. Paulet, AAG, and Major MacMahon, AQMG, were following Lucan and his staff at a distance of some fifty yards.

⁷¹ From Paget’s account - and from my calculations of morning twilight (6.43 a.m.) and sunrise (7.13 a.m.) - the Turks opened fire shortly before 7 a.m.

⁷² If it took some time for Campbell to join Lucan and his Staff, that might account for some of the delay in getting the news up to Headquarters. (Mike Hargreave Mawson, personal communication.) I believe, however, that (given the spy’s report) Campbell was actually in company with Lucan at first light. (Douglas J Austin.)

Members of his Staff to direct both Cavalry Brigades and Captain Maude’s Battery of Horse Artillery to turn out.

His Lordship with Sir Colin Campbell followed by Captain Fellowes (Acting as D.A.Q.M.G.) and myself, advanced to the foot of Canrobert Hill from where we discerned a large column of Russian Infantry, some 4,000 strong, climbing up the slopes of the hill to attack the redoubt against which a rapid and fierce cannonading from the enemy’s guns posted at Kamara was kept up.⁷³

The Turks, although greatly outnumbered, made a gallant stand, and both Lord Lucan and Sir Colin Campbell manifested their approval!⁷⁴ The former called out to me ‘Blunt, those Turks are doing well!’ but, having lost fully one-third of their number, and, expecting no support, they retired leaving their three guns, their killed and a few prisoners, most of them wounded, in the enemy’s hands.⁷⁵ Lord Lucan and Sir Colin Campbell, on seeing the Turks streaming down the hill, sent me to direct them to form behind the Highlanders (93rd Regiment) posted near Cadi-Kioi. Just as I started, Sir Colin Campbell, to whom I had been introduced shortly after the Battle of the Alma, by Mr. H. A. Layard M.P. (the late Sir Henry Layard, Ambassador at Constantinople) said to me, ‘Take care, young man, should anything happen to you, you’ll have no claim on the Government!’⁷⁶

I rode after the retreating Turks and explained to their Binbashi⁷⁷ (Major) Lord Lucan’s order and, while doing so, some of his men, who appeared parched with thirst and exhausted, approached and saluted me. One of them, faint and bleeding from a wound in his breast, asked: ‘Why no troops were sent to our support’. Another declared that ‘The guns in their redoubt were too small and ill-supplied with ammunition, and could not be properly served’, and while a third complained that during the last two days they had nothing to eat but biscuits and very little water to drink, his companion, with his wounded head bandaged, and smoking a pipe half-a-yard long, remarked to me in Turkish: ‘*Néh Yappalim Effendim? Allahim Emrider!*’ (What can we do, Sir? It is God’s will!). The Binbashi called these men away, and I rode back to report to Lord Lucan. In the meanwhile, and almost immediately after the Turks had been driven out of the above redoubt, those in Nos. 2, 3 and 4 Redoubts, numbering altogether about 800 men, seeing

⁷³ The Russians moved off at 5 a.m. According to Lord George Paget’s account (p 164), Major Low roused the British Cavalry picket at Kamara (probably before 6 a.m.) just in time for them to escape attack or capture. Did they alert the Turks in Redoubt 1 (to their west) or did they raise the alarm towards Balaklava (to their south-west) – or both – or neither? From Blunt’s account, they did not reach Lucan or Campbell.

⁷⁴ Lucan did admire the Turkish defence and he said as much to the House of Lords on 19th, March, 1855. Shortly after the event itself, however, Sir Colin Campbell was scathing in his adverse comments on the Turks. Clearly, Campbell did not then realise how well they had held out. (Douglas J Austin, unpublished information.)

⁷⁵ The Turks lost some 170 men killed – with none reported wounded. Presumably, the Russians eliminated every Turk found in and near the Redoubts.

⁷⁶ This entertaining remark is added here from Blunt’s ‘*Corrected Narrative*’; D-21 (*Appendix J4*, below). Sir Colin was quite correct, because Blunt was a civilian acting as an unofficial A.D.C.

⁷⁷ Variant title ‘Bimbashi’. This was not Rustem Pasha, the Turkish Colonel, who was an Egyptian officer and was killed during the Battle of Eupatoria on 17 February, 1855, but may have been the ‘fat and nervous officer, whose appearance was utterly inconsistent with the speed and agility he displayed in retreat’, encountered by William Howard Russell (‘*The Times*’, November 24, 1854; ‘*The War*’, p 244, Routledge, London, 1855). According to Nicholas Woods (‘*The Past Campaign*’, Vol. II), ‘The officer in command set the example of open flight by mounting his horse and galloping away towards Balaklava.’

large bodies of Russian Cavalry and Infantry rapidly advancing in their direction and expecting no support, made but little resistance and fled towards Balaklava.⁷⁸

As some stragglers from these redoubts were trudging along with their kits on their shoulders in the direction of the Cavalry camp, I was sent by Lord Lucan to order them to go to Cadi-kioi. I had scarcely reached them when a regiment of Russian Cavalry crossed the Waranzoff⁷⁹ road into the plain and galloped across it towards Balaklava; but their onward course was arrested; they were forced to retire by the resolute action of the Highlanders who, under the personal command of the bold-spirited Sir Colin Campbell, received the enemy's charge in LINE! - described by the '*TIMES*' correspondent as 'That thin red streak tipped with a line of steel.' (Dr. William Russell's⁸⁰ report dated October 25th 1854) - which I distinctly saw, for Khaki had not been introduced yet.

Shortly after this brilliant feat, I saw, while I was attending to the Turkish stragglers, a dense body of Russian Cavalry, some 3,000 strong - as estimated at the Cavalry Head Quarters at the time - suddenly appear on the ridge of hillocks above the Waranzoff road and slowly advance in the direction of redoubt No. 5, which was not armed or garrisoned at the time. The Heavy Brigade, under General the Honourable Sir J. Yorke Scarlett numbering less than 800 sabres, was in the vicinity of their camp and almost within pistol shot of the advancing Russians. By Lord Lucan's orders⁸¹ they were at once formed up facing and ready to meet the Russian Cavalry coming down the hill; they looked as if on a drill parade! The Scots Greys and the Inneskillens, well handled and led by General Scarlett, advanced at the trot, and gradually increasing their pace, broke into a gallop, charged and cut their way through the serried ranks of the enemy who, being at the same time resolutely attacked on both flanks by the squadrons of the Royals and 4th and 5th Dragoon Guards, broke and precipitately fled towards Canrobert's Hill, leaving a considerable number of killed and wounded men and horses on the field. The Russians had the advantage of numbers, more than three to one – also of position in charging down the slope of the hill – while our men were mounted on better and bigger horses.

'It was a triumphant charge (as Lord Lucan described it in one of his letters, which I wrote under his dictation) in which Officers and men fought with indomitable spirit, determined to overthrow an enemy who, besides their great superiority in number, also had the important advantage of charging down the slope of the hill'. I was, I may add, in the immediate vicinity watching with heart-thrilling sensation this brilliant performance, rendered all the more real and exciting by the braying of trumpets and the sound of pistol and carbine shots – some of which whistled and whizzed by me - the neighing of horses and the thud of their hoofs; by the glint and glitter of the clashing of swords and the howls of Cossacks and the cheers of our men whose bright shining helmets and scarlet tunics formed a striking contrast to the grey and dark-coated enemy who surrounded them!

⁷⁸ The widespread criticism of the Turks was later recognised as grossly unfair. Vastly outnumbered and out-gunned, the Turks in Redoubt 1 had resisted fierce attack for 1 hour or more. (See M. Hargreave Mawson, '*The True Heroes of Balaklava*', CWRs Special Publication 14, 1996.) See also, Section G '*Blunt's Chapter 9*', below.

⁷⁹ Woronzoff, Vorontzoff. Prince Woronzoff had a magnificent palace at Yalta.

⁸⁰ Russell was not awarded his honorary LLD degree by Trinity College, Dublin until 1856 and from then, until knighted in 1895, he was known as Dr Russell.

⁸¹ Scarlett maintained that he acted on his own initiative in charging. Lucan maintained that he had given the order. Both were probably justified in doing so.

The whole scene was most exciting and impressive. I was subsequently reminded by Captain Fellowes of the following remark the Generalissimo Omar Pasha made to Lord Raglan in French, on witnessing, during a review of the Light Division at Varna (a few days before going to the Crimea), a charge in line of one of our Dragoon Regiments: ‘With one such Regiment, My Lord, I would attack and destroy four Russian Regiments’.

I little expected at the time, that this glorious achievement was shortly to be overshadowed by the ever memorable charge of the Light Brigade, which has made their ‘Noble Six Hundred’ renowned in the history of battles and crowned them with undying laurels:-

‘Honour to the brave and bold
Long shall the tale be told
Yea, When our babes are old
How they rode onward.
When can their glory fade
Oh, the wild charge they made
All the world wondered
Honour to the Light Brigade
Noble Six Hundred’

Lord Tennyson

A droll incident occurred as the Heavies were forming up for the charge:- While I was riding along at a short distance behind the Inneskillens looking after the Turks, I saw a Staff Officer, Captain Connolly⁸², General Scarlett’s Brigade Major, ride up to a trooper in the rear rank, call him out and order him back to the Camp, as he was minus his tunic and had his shirt sleeves tucked up to his shoulders. I was afterwards told by Captain Fellowes that this man, immediately the Brigade Major moved on, returned to his Regiment in time to take a very active part in the charge. This doughty trooper served as the Regimental butcher! Colonel McKeen⁸³, late of the Inneskillens, who is now established in Malta, on my relating to him the above incident, told me he possessed a picture representing the Regimental Butcher, minus his tunic, taking part in the famous charge.

Mr. A.L.Haydon, in his *‘Book of the Victoria Cross’* published in 1906 relates as follows a similar incident during the charge of the Light Brigade:- ‘One other man of the 17th Lancers who distinguished himself in this charge, was the regimental butcher John Veigh. Hearing that the dash for the Russian guns was to be made, he left his work and in the bloodstained shirt, without seeking permission, borrowed a sabre and rode through the valley with his comrades. Butcher Jack cut down six gunners and returned unhurt still smoking the short black pipe, which was in his mouth when he joined in the ride’.⁸⁴

⁸² Conolly (see *‘Brief Biographies’*).

⁸³ McKean (see *‘Brief Biographies’*).

⁸⁴ So far as is known, only one regimental butcher charged on that day - 598 Private John Vahey of the 17th Lancers. My analysis of the sources suggests that he formed up with the Royals and began the cavalry advance with them but was told to join his regiment. He moved ahead at speed and did so. He survived the Charge of the Light Brigade, killing six Russians and earning himself a Distinguished Conduct Medal.

After witnessing with bated breath and thrilling sensations this brilliant charge, a sight never to be forgotten, I rode on to report to Lord Lucan and, on my way, over part of the ground the enemy had crossed in his flight, some stragglers pursued by our troopers passed close by me. One of them, a gigantic Cossack whirling his sword over his head, charged at me. As I was not armed, I ducked, urging my pony forward, and the blow intended for me fell on the animal’s back. My assailant galloped away and I was shortly afterwards told that he was pursued and cut down by one of our men.

As my pony, a very small one from Bosnia, stood trembling all over, I dismounted and saw that it was bleeding from a very deep cut across its backbone – it was so badly wounded that it had afterwards to be shot. I relieved it of its saddle which I left near it and went in search of Lord Lucan.

When I approached him, His Lordship asked me why I was on foot and, on my informing him of my misadventure, he directed his Orderly to catch for my use one of the Russian chargers cantering about riderless. After several attempts, a big beast was caught and brought to me; I did not like the look of the animal, but the Orderly recommended it as a good mount and I accepted it. Although I felt it had an iron mouth, it was steady enough at the time and gave me no trouble. My chief also appeared to approve of my acquisition.

After delivering a message to the Pasha, I followed Lord Lucan and some of his Staff to a small hillock between redoubts No.4 and No.5 from where we saw the Guards and other Regiments descending from Sebastopol plateau into the plain. As most of the Staff had been sent with orders to the Cavalry Brigades, only the Second Aide-de-Camp (Captain the Honourable Charteris⁸⁵), myself and an Orderly remained with Lord Lucan, when shortly after Captain Nolan rode up close to his Lordship, saluted and delivered to him a written order from Lord Raglan.

After reading the order Lord Lucan had a discussion with Nolan, who, pointing to the Russian position in an excited manner, I heard him exclaim vehemently, ‘There, My Lord, is your enemy, there are your guns’.

His Lordship was surprised and appeared to be irritated by the very impetuous and disrespectful attitude and tone of Captain Nolan, looked at him sternly but made no answer, and after some hesitation, proceeded to give orders to Lord Cardigan to charge the enemy with the Light Brigade and to the Heavy Brigade to advance in support, and at the same time went to accompany the latter. I was about to follow his Lordship, but he directed me not to do so and confided to my care Lord Raglan’s memorable Order.⁸⁶ This order was signed R. Airey (the Quarter Master General). It was written in pencil on a scrap of paper about 7 inches long and 3 to 4 inches broad.⁸⁷ As Lord Lucan was going to lead the ‘Royals’ and the ‘Greys’, he said to me ‘Blunt, don’t follow, take this order (the original order) keep it safely and don’t show it to anyone.’ At His Lordship’s request next morning I prepared three copies of the order in question and I was about to hand them to him with the (original) order. He took the copies and wished me to take care of the said order.

⁸⁵ There is some mystery about Charteris’ movements during the morning of 25 October, but Blunt places him with himself, Lord Lucan and an orderly when the 4th Order was delivered.

⁸⁶ See *Appendix 4*, below, for further details. (*Blunt’s Copy of his Notebook items.*)

⁸⁷ This is a fair description of the original. Dr Alistair Massie of the National Army Museum, Chelsea, has informed me : ‘The order that we don’t have is the first of the four, hence the numbering of the remaining three as 1, 2 & 3 with Order No 4 confusingly designated ‘3’. They were deposited by a later Earl of Lucan. (Douglas J Austin.)

The following is a true copy of this Order, as entered in my pocket book the day after the charge:-

‘Lord Raglan wishes the Cavalry to advance rapidly to the front, follow the enemy and try to prevent the enemy carrying away the guns. Troop of Horse Artillery may accompany. French Cavalry is on your left’.

Immediate

(Signed) R. Airey’

Immediately after Lord Lucan and Staff galloped towards the Heavy Brigade, I rode up to the top of the hill at a short distance from redoubt No.5 to watch the advance of the Cavalry, but only saw the Light Brigade being formed for the purpose and recognized Lord Cardigan at the head of the first line.⁸⁸

As my Russian Charger was becoming restive and excited by the trumpet calls and gun firing, I endeavoured to direct it down the hill towards our camp, but I felt I was losing all control over the animal, for suddenly it swerved round and galloped at breakneck speed towards the Waranzoff road. I could not stop it, my hands got quite sore from pulling at its bridle and I felt very uncomfortable.⁸⁹ Most fortunately, the beast in its mad career, and frightened by the enemy’s shells bursting in our direction, came up to redoubt No.5 and in attempting to leap over its narrow trench, stumbled and pitched me on its low parapet or embankment. Just as I got on my legs and was about to jump into the redoubt, a Turkish soldier in rushing forward to assist me was struck and killed on the spot by a splinter of a shell.⁹⁰

In confirmation of this personal incident I will quote the following extract from the Times of Oct 25 1854 written from the Battlefield by their Special Correspondent Sir Wm Russell. ‘At 10.50 General Canrobert, attended by his staff, and Brigadier-General Rose⁹¹, rode up to Lord Raglan, and the staffs of the two Generals and their escorts mingled together in praise of the magnificent charge of our cavalry, while the chiefs apart conversed over the operations of the day, which promised to be one of battle. The Russian cavalry, followed by our shot, had retired in confusion, leaving the ground covered with horses and men. In carrying an order early in the day, Mr. Blunt, Lord Lucan’s interpreter, and son of our Consul in Thessaly, had a narrow escape. His horse was killed; he seized a Russian charger as it galloped past riderless, but the horse carried him almost into the Russian cavalry, and he only saved himself by leaping him into a redoubt among a number of frightened Turks who were praying to Allah on their bellies. I should mention here that the Turks who had been collected on the flanks of the 93d fled at the approach of the Russians without firing a shot!’ [Printed in the ‘Times’ for November 14th 1854.]

I was attached as First Class Interpreter to the Cavalry Division under Lord Lucan, and also served as His Lordship’s Secretary.⁹²

⁸⁸ In his ‘*Corrected Narrative*’ (Appendix J4), Blunt states: ‘I only saw the beginning of the charge and could distinguish Lord Cardigan and Captain Nolan, at the head of the first Regiment.’ Preparation for his lecture may have jogged his memory?

⁸⁹ Variant text ‘uneasy’. As an unarmed civilian being run away with in the midst of a battle, Sir John surely understates his emotions here? He may have wished to witness the Light Brigade in action, but his horse forced him towards Redoubt 5.

⁹⁰ The occurrence of this shell-fire, presumably at very long range from the Fedioukine Heights or, possibly, from the ¼-pood edinorogs of a Russian Light Horse Battery, place this incident at 11.10 a.m. or shortly thereafter (Douglas J Austin, ‘*The Battle of Balaklava: A Brief History of 25th October, 1854*’, ‘The War Correspondent’, Vol 22(3), 2004, 36-40).

⁹¹ See ‘*Brief Biographies*’.

⁹² During the battle, he clearly also served as an unofficial aide-de-camp.

The horse got on its legs and galloped away over the Waranzoff road and across the valley in the direction of the Fedoukhine heights opposite the redoubts No.4 and 5. Redoubt No.5 was smaller and of weaker construction than the others. It had no guns and it was not garrisoned till shortly after the charge of the Heavy Brigade, when the Turkish Commander Rustem Pasha, after consulting with Sir Colin Campbell, occupied it with about 200 of his men. Several Turks were killed and some were wounded in this redoubt by the fire of the enemy's artillery from the Fedoukhine heights, and Rustem Pasha, who was outside the redoubt with his orderly⁹³, had his horse wounded. The Pasha, on seeing me, kindly inquired if I was hurt. He remarked to me ‘You know that I expected all this trouble (Turkish ‘*Bela*’) would fall on our heads.’ adding ‘Why did the Commander-in-Chief (Lord Raglan) neglect to act on the information I sent him through your Generals?’ (meaning Lord Lucan and Sir Colin Campbell).⁹⁴

In the meantime the fire from the Russian batteries on the Fedoukhine heights was put a stop to by the splendid action of some squadrons of the Chasseurs D’Afrique, whom I saw attack the position in the most gallant and spirited manner, compelling the enemy to withdraw their guns. But for this very timely and well executed diversion, the retiring remnants of the Light Brigade, as well as the Regiments of the Heavy Brigade, and the Turks in the redoubt No.5 would have had to deplore many casualties.

When the firing from the Fedoukhine heights was thus suppressed and I saw men of the Light Brigade, some of them wounded and unhorsed, returning from the Charge, I left the redoubt and walked down the hill towards them. On my way I met some Guardsmen who had just carried from the field the body of an Officer and on approaching them I at once recognised the body as that of Captain Nolan. His face was almost black, and his chest was lacerated and covered with blood. His death must have been instantaneous⁹⁵ and caused, as I afterwards heard, by a shell bursting over or near him. While I was looking at the body, H.R.H. the Duke of Cambridge, passing by with some of his Staff stopped and asked ‘Who is that?’ I replied ‘Captain Nolan, Your Royal Highness’. He rode on exclaiming ‘Poor Nolan! Poor Nolan!’

Poor Nolan, indeed! He was a general favourite at Head Quarters; and was considered a Cavalry authority of great experience, having served in the Austro-Hungarian Army and also distinguished himself in India.⁹⁶ But, during his occasional visits to our camp at Balaklava, he used to speak very disparagingly of Lord Lucan as a Cavalry General. On one occasion I heard him remark to Major M’Mahon, A.Q.M.G. that had he (Nolan) commanded the Light Brigade at Alma, he would have pursued the Russians to the very gates of Sebastopol! His Lordship, however, did pursue the retreating Russians with some of his Squadrons, and while making some prisoners, he was recalled by Lord Raglan. I was near Lord Lucan when the recall order was delivered to him and witnessed his vexation at having to give up the pursuit.

I should here mention the fact that Captain Nolan was one of the first, if not the first, victim of the charge of the Noble Six Hundred: when Lord Cardigan ordered the Brigade to advance, Captain Nolan bravely placed himself at the head of the leading

⁹³ I believe that Rustem Pasha was not the Turkish officer commanding in Redoubt 1 (Canrobert’s Hill). (See ‘*Brief Biographies*’).

⁹⁴ Presumably because there had been several unwarranted and tiring alarms during the previous nights?

⁹⁵ Presumably, Nolan’s body was locked in an immediate cadaveric spasm at the moment of death. His body was described elsewhere as ‘an ugly corpse’.

⁹⁶ Nolan was well-placed in India, but was never in combat there.

Squadron⁹⁷ and brandishing his sword, cheered on the men to the charge.⁹⁸ Almost immediately after the Russian batteries opened fire, Captain Nolan was seen galloping to the rear and some of the men of the Squadron, ignorant at the time that he had been instantaneously killed by the splinters of a shell bursting over him, suspected that he was attempting to escape!⁹⁹ His horse in the meantime becoming very excited by the bursting shells, and no longer under control, galloped to the rear carrying its gallant master’s body, which at last fell from the saddle in the vicinity of the spot I saw it in charge of some Guardsmen.

As I felt very tired, fagged and hungry, having had nothing to eat, not even breakfast, since the early morning but a dry biscuit offered to me by a Turkish soldier in Redoubt No. 5, I walked back towards Cadi-Kioi and Balaklava. On my way I met a party conveying Captain Morris, who, I was afterwards told, while gallantly charging at the head of his regiment, the 17th Lancers, had several narrow escapes of his life, having received numerous wounds, one of a very serious nature on his head. I went forward to enquire and express my sympathy, but he looked very pallid and faint from loss of blood and could not recognize me. Captain Morris was also considered a brilliant Cavalry Officer having served in India with distinction.¹⁰⁰ While attached to Lord Lucan’s Staff as D.A.Q.M.G. he was always most kind to me, having intimately known my uncle in India, Mr. George Blunt, who was a Judge of Meerut and Allygher.¹⁰¹

After resting and refreshing myself at Balaklava, I proceeded towards our Camp and on the way I met an Orderly who was sent by Lord Lucan in search of me. He informed me that His Lordship was slightly wounded, that Captain Charteris was among the killed, and that more than half of the Light Brigade had been annihilated. I returned to our quarters where I found all much depressed. I was told that Captain Charteris was among the many killed and that Lord Lucan was wounded on one of his legs by a spent ball. I at once went into Lord Lucan’s room and found His Lordship lying on his cot with one of his legs extended on it. On expressing my sympathy, he said to me ‘It is nothing very serious, Blunt, I shall be all right in two or three days’ adding, ‘I shall want tomorrow one or two copies of the Commander-in-Chief’s order’.

Next day I prepared three copies and also copied the draft of His Lordship’s report on the battle. During the week, General Airey applied to him for the original order but was only furnished, I was told, with a copy of it.¹⁰²

⁹⁷ This may mean the ‘Squadron of Direction’ which, strictly speaking, would have been the right squadron of the 17th Lancers, under Captain White. (David Kelsey, personal communication.)

⁹⁸ It is not clear whether Blunt witnessed this incident, corroborated by Calthorpe and others and by the wording on Nolan’s Memorial, formerly in Holy Trinity Church, Maidstone.

⁹⁹ To my knowledge, this is the only known record of this assumption.

¹⁰⁰ Morris served with great distinction in the actions at Maharajpore (1843), Budiwal (1846), Aliwal (1846) and Sobraon (1846).

¹⁰¹ Now Aligarh.

¹⁰² Blunt appears to have held the original 4th Order only for long enough to prepare the copies, perhaps on 26 October. (See *Appendix 4*, below, for further details.)

Lord Bingham was very much cut up¹⁰³ by the death of his cousin Captain the Honourable Charteris (son of Lord Elcho¹⁰⁴) and towards evening he went with a party of men to the battlefield to try and recover his body but could not find it and was driven away by the fire of one of the captured redoubts.¹⁰⁵ Captain Charteris was a clever unassuming Officer. We often conversed together on the condition of the Army, when he always spoke despondingly of our exposed position at Balaklava. I was not conscious at the time that he was a prey to the presentiment of the fate that befell him, as the following personal incident shows:- Shortly before the charge of the Light Brigade, he asked me to lend him my pocket handkerchief. I told him that the one I had on me was not very clean, but he replied that it would serve his purpose. On my handing it to him, he drew his sword from its scabbard, twisted the handkerchief into a loop round its hilt and his wrist so as to strengthen his hold and then, after brandishing the weapon said to me: ‘This will do, Blunt, but I doubt if I shall ever return it to you.’ or words to that effect, uttered in a melancholy, mournful tone! Captain Charteris was very kind to me and I always remembered with gratitude the interest he took in me and the assistance and encouragement he gave me in connection with my duties on Lord Lucan’s Staff.

P.S. Some time after writing the above narrative of the battle of Balaklava, I sent it to the present Lord Lucan and begged him to return it to me with his suggestions and corrections and His Lordship very kindly complied with my request in a letter of which the following is a copy:-‘

Castlebar House, Castlebar, Ireland.

September 25th, 1905

Dear Sir John Blunt,

Your letter and enclosures have been forwarded to me here. The narrative seems to me to be very accurate as far as my memory goes. There is only one part where you mentioned my cousin Captain Walter Charteris’ death which I know to be incorrect.

Soon after the Heavy Brigade and the remnants of the Light Brigade had returned, I went along to where Captain Charteris fell and got from his body a few things (I think his watch and sword). The enemy soon began to make it warm for me from one of the redoubts, I accordingly had to leave the body where it fell.

We are lucky after upwards of half a century to be able to write to one another, so many of our contemporaries disappearing one by one. Sir Charles Clarke, now Governor of Malta, is father to one of my daughters-in-law.

Hoping that you enjoy good health,

Yours truly,

(Signed) Lucan.

¹⁰³ Blunt’s strong emphasis on Lord Bingham’s grief over Charteris (and Bingham’s confirmation that he recovered his cousin’s watch and sword) prompt the present suggestion that Bingham may have been the ‘unidentified officer’ seen weeping near Nolan’s body, as described in F. Whinyates’ *‘From Coruña to Sevastopol’*, p 142, W.H.Allen, London, 1883. A set of candidates, not including Bingham, was presented by Rod Robinson in his article *‘The Mystery Man at Nolan’s Graveside’*, *‘The War Correspondent’*, Vol 20(4), 41-43, 2003.

¹⁰⁴ Captain Charteris’ father, 9th Earl of Wemyss from 28 June, 1853, also bore the title of Lord Elcho.

¹⁰⁵ If this was cannon fire, it may have come from either of Redoubts 2 and 3. The *‘Illustrated London News’* for November 18, 1854, p 518, reported that Charteris was decapitated by a cannon ball. The same shot ripped off part of Paulet’s forage cap.

The following copy of a letter which I received from Lord Lucan himself on the occasion of his departure for Home may be of interest here at the conclusion of my reminiscences of the Battle of Balaklava as shewing the kind and intimate relations which used to prevail between Lord Lucan and the members of his Staff.¹⁰⁶ The original letter, I need hardly say, forms a valuable and valued relic¹⁰⁷ of the days when I was proud to style myself a member of the Staff of so distinguished an Officer:-

Constantinople,
February 19, 1855

My Dear Sir,

I cannot part with you without thanking you for your constant attention and civility to me during the ten months you have been attached to me as Interpreter. From your knowledge of languages you have been very useful to me and from the zeal and attention you have shown you have much pleased me. I wish you all success and happiness and shall be glad to hear of your employment in the Public Service.

Not alone as an Interpreter but in the field and particularly at Balaklava in the action of October 25, 1854, you assisted and were of use to me.

Yours truly,
(Sd) Lucan,
Lieut. General.

J. E. Blunt, Esqr.

Appendix 1 to Blunt's 'Chapter 6': 'Esnan' Turkish Troops at Balaklava. :

Sir John Blunt describes these troops as ‘men who had never been under fire before or others who had never served previously! [Esnan : Young men who escape the conscription ballot and are liable to serve some 12 years in the Reserve (Rediffs.)]’ and further that ‘The three works with No.4 were manned by about 1300 Turkish Militia from Asia Minor and Tunisia who, their officers declared to me, were mostly composed of Esnan men, who had never been under fire before or had never served previously! Some 500 of these men garrisoned No.1 Redoubt (Canroberts) and the remainder were distributed in Nos. 2. 3. and 4, almost in equal numbers.’

‘Esnan’ is an Arabic word, the plural of ‘sinn’, meaning teeth or age. Sir J. Redhouse’s Turkish-English Lexicon gives the following meanings: ‘1. Teeth 2. Equals 3. Years or periods of life’. (Librairie du Liban, Beirut 1996, p 115. In the Ottoman usage it meant ‘those of military (recruiting) age’. Redif (Rediff), on the other hand, meant re-serve troops.¹⁰⁸

The Special Correspondent of the ‘Morning Herald’, Nicholas Augustus Wood confirmed their inexperience and recorded that they had a hard voyage from Varna to Balaklava - and that they misbehaved disgracefully on arrival. ‘On the 12th of October, the redoubts which had been begun along the Woronzow Road, were completed. At the first

¹⁰⁶ Not with all of them, at least according to Cardigan (Douglas J Austin, unpublished information).

¹⁰⁷ The Blunt Papers in Birmingham include photographs of this letter, in Lucan’s appalling handwriting.

¹⁰⁸ (Candan Badem, personal communication.)

glance our artillery officers considered them untenable, both from the actual inefficiency of the earthworks, and the long distance at which they were placed from all support. According to them, the line was unreasonably extended, and ridiculously weak. Our engineer officers were mostly engaged at the front in the batteries before Sevastopol, but the few who saw the Turkish redoubts, as they were afterwards called, concurred in the opinion. Directly they were completed they were occupied by a regiment of Tunisians, who had never seen a shot fired. The Turkish Division which had marched with the allies from Kalamita, and which were all picked troops from the Danube and Silistria, were unwisely camped on the left of the French lines round Sevastopol, in rear of the Fourth Division. The Tunisians had only arrived at Balaklava on the 4th, 5th, and 6th of October, and as they came from Varna, and the voyage across was only a short one of thirty-six hours, the Turkish government did not think it necessary to ration them during the passage: accordingly, the unfortunate men were landed at Balaklava in an almost famished state. When on shore, I am sorry to say, these Tunisians committed some cold-blooded cruelties upon the unfortunate villagers around Balaklava, cutting the throats of the men, and stripping their cabins of every thing. The bodies of their unfortunate victims were found by our sentries and out-pickets, who generally also discovered the wives and families concealed somewhere near.’¹⁰⁹

High-grade Turkish troops were directed at Sebastopol itself, the point of greatest need. Apparently, the Allied Command were obliged to place raw troops (with a minor stiffening of reserves) in the Redoubt line, where at least they could and (on 20 and 25 October) did give warning of Russian movements. Raglan may not have appreciated their true status or, if he did, he may have felt constrained to leave them where they were.¹¹⁰

On the day, there was a major disparity between the resistance put up by the Turks in Redoubt 1 (Canrobert’s Hill) and by those in Redoubts 2, 3 and 4. Sir John tells us that ‘The three works with No.4 were manned by about 1300 Turkish Militia from Asia Minor and Tunisia who, their officers declared to me, were mostly composed of Esnan men’ (my emphasis). Redoubt 1 was clearly the point of immediate hazard from Russian troops from beyond the Tchernaya river. It is possible, therefore, that the ‘better elements’ of this scratch force were concentrated there, only to be over-run by massively superior numbers and fire-power. After the fall of Redoubt 1, the panicked departure of Turkish troops from Redoubts 2, 3 and 4 is more easily explained – and wholly understandable, in any event.

Appendix 2 to Blunt’s ‘Chapter 6’: Letter to Sir William Howard Russell (1905):

Union Club,
Malta.
Nov 2d 1905

Dear Sir William Russell,

I am submitting to you today – enclosed – a little story which I have been writing in connection with the Battle of Balaklava at which we both had the honor to be present.

I have put it together according to my best memory, but realizing that you as an important witness were in a position to observe nearly all that happened on that day I beg you to look over the enclosed and kindly return it to me with any suggestions or

¹⁰⁹ N.A.Woods; ‘*The Past Campaign: A Sketch of the War in the East*’, Longman, Brown, Green and Longmans (London, 1855); Vol.II, pp 12-14.

¹¹⁰ (Rod Robinson, personal communication.)

recommendations which you may see fit, for I desire very much to have the story as nearly correct as possible.¹¹¹ – I may here add that the episode of my being run away with by my (Russian) horse will be remembered by you inasmuch as you made a special note of it in your report to the ‘Times’ published Nov 14. 1854. Hoping you continue to enjoy good health, and not unmindful of the courtesy and kindness you extended to me during my service in the Crimea.

Yrs sincerely

J E Blunt

Lady Blunt joins me in kind regards and best wishes. – Although strong enough to keep on the saddle for a long time the age limit regulations shelved me on the pension list after more than half a century – and at present I have my diggings in this Island.

JEB

Appendix 3 to Blunt’s ‘Chapter 6’: Letter from Commander Reginald Yonge, R.N. 1910 :

I have received a letter from a friend of mine which refers to the chapter of my reminiscences. As I agree with it, I cannot do better than attach it as an Appendix to my narrative:

Union Club,
MALTA.
February 5th 1910

Dear Sir John Blunt,

I have read your chapter on Balaklava with much interest. As you have kindly asked me to make any suggestions, I venture to make the following which I think will round off your narrative of that eventful day and will also be of use to your readers of future generations, who may never have read a history of the Crimean War. Moreover, owing to your borrowed Russian horse bolting with you and throwing you, you were not in a position to see all of the Light Brigade Charge.

There was considerable misapprehension as to what orders Lord Raglan intended to convey to Lord Lucan. There can be no doubt that it was intended that the Light Brigade should endeavour to prevent the Russians removing our Guns from the Redoubts which they had captured from the Turks earlier in the day. No doubt Nolan knew well what Lord Raglan’s intentions were and that he meant to - and believed that he had - conveyed these instructions to Lord Lucan. It was only when Nolan saw that Lord Cardigan was launched on that fatal journey down the North Valley that it dawned on him that there could have been any misunderstanding.¹¹²

Nolan then appears to have endeavoured - by riding in the direction of the Redoubts, shouting and waving his sword - to correct the error. Unfortunately, he was too late, or rather Lord Cardigan was only enraged by his conduct, which he did not at the time

¹¹¹ It is not known whether Blunt received any reply from Russell.

¹¹² To this day, deep controversies centre on the points raised in this and the next paragraph. A similar theory was, however, advanced by Nicholas Woods (Special Correspondent of the ‘Morning Herald’) in his book ‘The Past Campaign’, Vol II, p 82; Longman, Brown, Green and Longmans, London, 1855, long before Kinglake’s provokingly obscure account in his ‘Invasion of the Crimea’, Vol V, published in 1868. (Rod Robinson, personal communication.)

understand. Poor Nolan did not live long enough to do anything further to put matters right. He was killed by a shell almost immediately.

What did happen? The Light Brigade had to ride for over 1¼ miles down that ‘Valley of the Shadow of Death’ to attack an Army – all the time they were being ‘stormed at with shot and shell’ on both flanks. They did what mortal man can do, but it was a useless waste of life, and the results were practically nil.

It is true that the gallantry of our Cavalry made a great impression on the Russians, and won the admiration of the World, but the Russians retained our guns which they had taken from the Turks, and the news of their achievement put heart into the defenders of Sebastopol, which result to a large extent counterbalanced the good effect of the Charge. There was a very heavy loss of life: out of 670 men who went into action only 195 answered to the first Roll Call when they came out. However, fortunately, more turned up later, which reduced the losses of the Light Brigade to something less than half their total number. The French Cavalry made a brilliant attempt to support the Light Brigade, in which they succeeded, by forcing the most advanced Russian Guns (on the left flank of our Cavalry as they attacked) to retire.

Our own Heavy Cavalry were kept inactive by Lord Lucan.¹¹³ He believed that the Light Brigade had been sacrificed and felt it his bounden duty to prevent the same fate befalling the Heavy Brigade, which, besides, was all the Cavalry he had left.¹¹⁴

I anticipate that you do not propose to enter into the merits of the unfortunate disputes that arose later over the incidents of this memorable charge!¹¹⁵ I am particularly interested in Balaklava not only because I knew¹¹⁶ some of those who took part in both charges but also because I went all over the ground in 1869, when the Prince and Princess of Wales (our present King and Queen) visited the Crimea on board H.M.S. ‘*Ariadne*’.

Believe me, Dear Sir John,
Yours very truly,
Sgd. Reginald Yonge.

Appendix 4 to Blunt’s ‘Chapter 6’: ‘Blunt’s Annotated Draft of Lucan’s Report to Raglan on Balaklava’:

Copy No.4

Extract from Sir J. E Blunts Pocket Note Book

¹¹³ Quite untrue. Lucan advanced the Heavy Brigade beyond Redoubt 3, well within range of Russian guns and musketry. The Heavy Brigade suffered its main losses of the day and Lucan was himself injured.

¹¹⁴ Fair comment. Lucan’s decision to retire was justified at the time, nor was he later censured for it - except, of course, by the survivors of the Light Brigade.

¹¹⁵ Unfortunately, Sir John does not provide further information on these issues.

¹¹⁶ Variant text: ‘...not only from being interested in ...’.

Lt General, the Rt Honble the Earl of Lucan, commanding the Cavalry Division – to –
His Excellency the Commander of the Forces – Balaklava, Nov’ 30, 1854

My Lord

In your Lordship’s Report of the Cavalry action at Balaklava on the 25th ultimo given in the papers which have just arrived from England you observe that from some misconception of the instruction to advance the Lt. General considered that he was bound to attack at all hazards and he accordingly ordered Lord Cardigan to move forward with the Light Brigade. Surely, My Lord, this is a grave charge, and an imputation reflecting seriously on my professional character. I cannot remain silent. I feel it incumbent on me to state those facts which I cannot doubt must clear me from what I respectfully submit is altogether unmeritted (*sic*). - The Cavalry was formed to support an intended movement of the Infantry when Captain Nolan A.D.C. of the Quarter Master General came up to me at speed and placed in my hands this written instruction:

Copy.

‘Lord Raglan wishes the Cavalry to advance rapidly to the front, follow the enemy and try to prevent the enemy carrying away the guns. Troop of Horse Artillery may accompany. French Cavalry is on your left. R. Airey - Immediate’

After carefully reading this order, I hesitated and urged the uselessness of such an attack, and the dangers attending it. The Aide de Camp in a most authoritative tone stated that they were Lord Raglan’s orders that the Cavalry should attack – immediately. I asked ‘where and what to do’-’as neither enemy nor guns were within sight’- He replied in a disrespectful and significant manner, pointing to the further end of the Valley ‘There My Lord is your enemy and there are your guns.’¹¹⁷

So distinct in my opinion was your written instruction and so positive and urgent were the orders delivered to me by the A.D.C. that I felt it was imperative on me to obey, and I informed Lord Cardigan that he was to advance, and to the objections he made and in which I entirely agreed, I replied that the order was from Your Lordship. Having decided against my conviction to make the movement I did all in my power to render it as little perilous as possible. I formed the Brigade in two lines and led to its support two Regiments of Heavy Cavalry the Scots Greys and the Royals and only halted them when they had reached the point from which they could protect the retreat of the Light Cavalry in the event of their being pursued by the enemy, and when, having already lost many officers and men by the fire from the batteries and forts, and further advance would have exposed them to destruction.

My Lord, I considered at the time, I am still of the same opinion, that I followed the only course open to me. As Lieutenant General doubtless I have discretionary powers, but to take upon myself to disobey an Order written by my Commander in Chief within a few minutes of its delivery, and given from an elevated position commanding an entire view of all the batteries and the position of the enemy would have been nothing less than direct disobedience of orders without any other reason than that I preferred my opinion to that of my General, and in this instance would have exposed me and the Cavalry to aspersions against which it might have been difficult to have defended ourselves.

It should also be remembered that the A.D.C. well informed of the intentions of his general, and the objects he had in view¹¹⁸, after first insisting on our immediate charge, then placed himself in front of one of the leading squadrons when he fell the first victim.-

¹¹⁷ Note the wording of this draft, which differs slightly from other published versions.

I did not dare so to disobey Your Lordship, and it is the opinion of every officer of rank in this Army to whom I have shewn your instruction that it was not possible for me to do so. I hope My Lord that I have stated the facts temperately and in a becoming and respectful manner as it has been my wish to do. I am confident that it will be your desire to do me justice.

I will only ask that Your Lordship should kindly give the same publicity to this letter that has been given to Your Report, as I am sensitively anxious to satisfy my Sovereign, my Military Superiors and the Public that I have not on this unhappy occasion shewn myself undeserving of their confidence or unfitting the command which I hold.

I have & & &
Signed Lucan
Lt General, commanding Cavalry Division.

Copy. Mr Blunt's following remarks at foot of the copy of above Letter he made in this Pocket Note Book:

I was present at the delivery of the order, and nothing could have been more disrespectful and offensive than Captain Nolan's attitude towards Lord Lucan when his Lordship objected to execute it. His Lordship exclaimed attack and where and what guns Sir. Nolan pointed with his sword towards the End of the Valley¹¹⁹ and cried out 'There My Lord is your enemy and there are your guns.'

As Lord Lucan was about going to confer with Lord Cardigan he said to me 'Blunt don't follow; take care of this order (the original order) keep it safely and don't shew it to any one until I authorise you to do so' - General Airey called more than once on Lord Lucan and requested him to let him have the order to shew it to the Comdr in Chief but His Lordship refused to comply with his request, but offered to supply him copies of it - and ordered me to prepare them for the General.¹²⁰

'There My Lord is your enemy, and there are your guns' - As Lord Lucan was about going to lead the 'Royals and Greys' he said to me 'Blunt don't follow, take this order (the original order) keep it safely and don't show it to any one.'¹²¹

At His Lordship's request next morning I prepared three copies of the order in question - & I was about to hand them to him with the (original) order - He took the copies and wished me to take care of the said order.¹²²

¹¹⁸ Somerset Calthorpe (*'Letters From Headquarters: Or, the Realities of the War in the Crimea by an Officer on the Staff.'* 2 vols. Murray, London, 1857, p), stated that Nolan received 'careful instructions both from Raglan and the Quartermaster-General'. He may or may not have passed them on to Lucan or others.

¹¹⁹ Interesting. Morleys's account mentions that Nolan used his sword to point the way and Blunt supports the view that Nolan pointed to the eastern end of the North Valley, not to the Causeway Heights redoubts.

¹²⁰ Lucan obviously realised that he needed the original order, as well as copies, as evidence in his own defence. He sent copies at least to Airey and to the General Commanding-in-Chief (Viscount Hardinge) at the Horse Guards in London.

¹²¹ Lucan knew that there would be repercussions from the day's events. Clearly, he recognised the potential importance of the precise wording of the 4th Order.

¹²² Blunt therefore kept the original 4th Order at least until the day after the battle.

Appendix 5 to Blunt’s ‘Chapter 6’ : CUL Add. 9554/5/46 : The 3rd Order

Although it is not part of the Blunt Papers, a separate document is worth description here, given the interesting implications of the copy of the 4th Order described in Appendix 4 (above).

The separate document now exists as a photocopy in the Manuscripts Collection of the University of Cambridge Library. (The original was retained by the penultimate owner of the archive.) The transcription and parts of its supporting text are presented here, with permission, from ‘The Ben Smyth/Kinglake Archive’, a component of David Kelsey’s web-site (<http://www.crimeantexts.org.uk/index.html>).

CUL Add.9554/5/46: [This document is in two hands, Airey’s and Lucan’s.]

[Airey]

C.G.¹²³

Order to Lord Lucan
25 Oct. 1854

Carried down by Lt Col. Poulett Somerset ADC¹²⁴,
but somehow did not reach in time perhaps the Cavalry were never up to the heights
previously abandoned by the Turks —

[Lucan]

Cavalry to advance & take advantage of any opportunity to recover heights, they will be
supported by infantry which has been ordered advance on two fronts

Signed R. Airey

[Airey]

This copy was furnished to me by Lord Lucan, so that he had received the order, but for
some reason, was not acted upon -

Rd. Airey

This is a copy of Raglan’s Third Order to the cavalry. The original was written by
Airey on Raglan’s behalf and despatched to Lucan, who retained it. After the battle, when
Raglan and Airey wanted a record of what the order had said, this copy was made and
supplied by Lucan.

There were disagreements about the precise wording of the order.¹²⁵ Thus, in his
letter dated 16 December 1854, criticising Lucan, Raglan quoted its last part as:- ‘They
will be supported by infantry, which has been ordered to advance on two fronts.’ In his
speech to the House of Lords on 19 March 1855, Lord Lucan averred that it had in fact
said:- ‘They will be supported by infantry, which has been ordered. Advance on two
fronts.’ He continued:- ‘The original order did not say ‘to advance,’ but it is possible that
the word ‘to’ may have been inserted by mistake in the copy which I furnished to Lord

¹²³ The enigmatic ‘C.G.’ notation remains unexplained. It could refer to a person, a filing location or to ‘Commanding General’. The last appears unlikely, however, as a reference either to Raglan, the British Commander-in-Chief in the Crimea or to Hardinge, the General Commanding-in-Chief in London.

¹²⁴ See ‘*Brief Biographies*’.

¹²⁵ As there are various renditions of the 4th Order.

Raglan, and I therefore wish to impute nothing to his lordship with respect to it.¹²⁶ There was a full stop after the word ‘ordered,’ there was no ‘to,’ and there was a large A to ‘advance.’ It would have made a great difference if ‘to’ had been inserted and ‘advance’ had commenced with a small ‘a,’ so as to make the whole one sentence. But the sentence, ‘Advance in two fronts,’ stood by itself.’ In this copy the final part reads:- ‘they will be supported by infantry which has been ordered advance on two fronts.’ We see from this that Lucan had not mistakenly included the word ‘to,’ as he had feared, but that his copy does not include a full stop after ‘ordered,’ nor a large ‘A’ for ‘advance,’ as he claimed the original did. We thus have three versions of the order. The differences are inconsequential because, despite Lucan’s statement that it ‘would have made a great difference’, there was never any danger of the order being interpreted to mean that the cavalry was to advance on two fronts.¹²⁷ Many accounts of the battle of Balaklava make much of the supposedly superior view of the field of conflict enjoyed by Raglan and Airey.¹²⁸ In this document Airey notes that ‘perhaps the Cavalry were never up to the heights.’¹²⁹ If Airey could not be sure whether the cavalry were ‘up to the heights’, he may not have seen what the Russians were (or were not) doing with the British guns in Redoubt no. 3 and beyond. There are indeed references in this archive to Airey’s eye troubles.¹³⁰

In summary, this document adds to, rather than decreases, the continuing dilemmas facing students of the Battle of Balaklava. It is unfortunate that we do not yet know why it was composed and for whom it was intended. Conceivably, it may have been intended for Raglan and/or Viscount Hardinge, the General Commanding-in-Chief in London.

Immediately after the Charge of the Light Brigade and during 25th October, 1854, Raglan blamed (in succession) Airey, Cardigan and Lucan for the disaster.¹³¹ Airey’s response seems likely to have matched those of both Cardigan and Lucan – that they were simply obeying orders. As a speculation, Airey may have been considering his own defence after the daring but disastrous Charge of the Light Brigade.

¹²⁶ For reasons unknown, it appears that Lucan could not then produce the original 3rd Order, which is now in the National Army Museum, Chelsea.

¹²⁷ It can be and (in later debates) was interpreted as meaning that the infantry had been ordered to advance on two fronts. The 1st and 4th Divisions were specifically instructed to take different routes down from the Sapoune Ridge to the North Valley.

¹²⁸ William Howard Russell emphasised the brightness and clarity of the later morning, before gun-smoke obscured the view. Individual officers in the North Valley were distinguishable from the Sapoune Ridge.

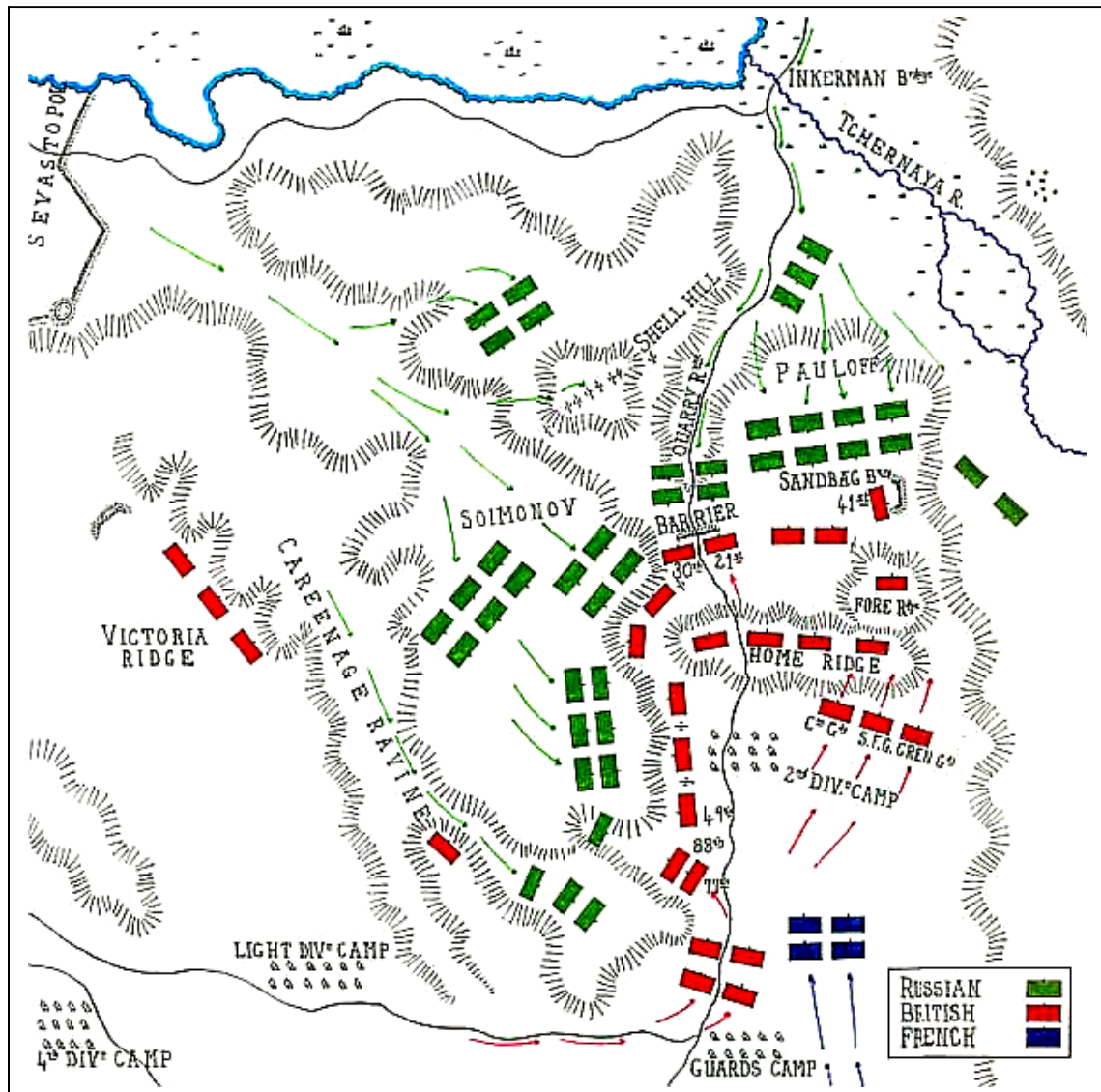
¹²⁹ A curious and ambiguous wording. Does it refer to both the Light and Heavy Brigades of Cavalry, or only one of them? If so, which one? Does it refer to the Causeway Heights?

¹³⁰ (David Kelsey, personal communication.)

¹³¹ (Douglas J Austin, unpublished information.)

E. ‘Battle of Inkerman’

[Blunt’s ‘Chapter 7’ : Sources: D-29 and D-30]



Battle of Inkerman
(www.britishbattles.com)

BATTLE OF INKERMEN NOVEMBER 5TH 1854 – DEFEAT OF RUSSIANS – THE SAND-BAG BATTERY - HORRORS OF THE BATTLEFIELD - GREAT HURRICANE NOV 14TH - LOSS AND SUFFERING CAUSED BY - CAPTAIN FELLOWES D.A.Q.M.G. – SENT TO CONSTANTINOPLE TO PURCHASE NECESSARIES FOR THE ARMY, FOR THE CAVALRY IN PARTICULAR - TURKISH TROOPS ASSIST IN CONSTRUCTION OF STABLING – ASSISTANT COMMISSARY GENERAL MURRAY, HIS HOSPITALITY – PERSONAL DISAGREEABLE MISADVENTURE.

Some days after the brilliant but disastrous battle of Balaklava, in which the British Cavalry proved their splendid courage and efficiency¹³², the enemy, strongly reinforced by fresh troops from Bessarabia and Odessa, suddenly attacked during a cold and misty morning (Nov 5th) the right flank of our position opposite the heights of Inkerman.¹³³

Although this position was very exposed and no works were thrown up for its defence¹³⁴, the British troops, scarcely 7000 strong, withstood with heroic courage and determination the repeated attacks of the enemy fully five times their number¹³⁵, often driving them back at the point of the bayonet. Their situation however was becoming most critical, having lost more than a third of their number and expended all their ammunition, when a French Division under General Bousquet¹³⁶ arrived in good time on the spot and together with our troops attacked and dispersed the enemy, forcing them to beat a hasty retreat in disorder and with great loss.¹³⁷

An Officer on his way to Balaklava having told Lord Lucan that he had heard General Cathcart¹³⁸ was killed while gallantly leading one of his regiments against the enemy, his Lordship sent me to the front to inquire.¹³⁹ I was advised to go towards the sand-bag battery, and on my way there I passed by the remnants, scarcely 200 strong, of the gallant Light Brigade drawn up a short distance behind their old friends the Chasseurs d’Afrique, the same who gallantly supported them at the battle of Balaklava.

I arrived near the battery while our troops were cheering and saw the Russians retreating in great disorder over the Inkerman heights. Already our numerous wounded were being carried to the field hospital tents. After relieving one of them with some brandy from my flask, I met an old acquaintance Mr Turrell, Sir George Brown’s Chief Interpreter, whom I mentioned in a previous chapter.¹⁴⁰ He was accompanied by Mr. Vice Consul Reade, acting as Assistant Interpreter to General Airey, the Quarter Master General.

They told me that they had seen most of the fighting and described the determined stand made by our troops, and their great losses, especially those of the Guards. They confirmed the report of General Cathcart’s death while leading his Division early in the fight, and also told me that but for the timely support of the French the Russians would have occupied our position and driven us down to Balaklava. They joined me in attending to some of the wounded in the vicinity of the Sand-bag battery where the fighting must have been most desperate and sanguinary, judging from the piles of British and Russian

¹³² Balaklava certainly proved their courage and fighting ability, but little else.

¹³³ Blunt does not mention ‘Little Inkerman’, the stiff fight of 26th October, 1854, when the British beat back a determined sortie in force from Sevastopol on the British extreme right.

¹³⁴ Only weak defences were in place. This neglect drew very strong comments after the battle.

¹³⁵ Variant text: ‘fully seven times their number’. How do you calculate the forces present - only those who made contact with the enemy, or all those on the field? (Rod Robinson, personal communication.)

¹³⁶ Bosquet. (See ‘*Brief Biographies*’).

¹³⁷ A very simplistic description of a complex, desperate and confused action, well described as the ‘Soldier’s Battle’, because higher command could not control it.

¹³⁸ (See ‘*Brief Biographies*’).

¹³⁹ This is interesting, as regards the time taken for news to travel, etc. Cathcart was killed at approximately 8.30 a.m. The information travelled down to Balaklava, and Blunt was then sent forward, arriving in time to see the Russian retreat. At the latest, that occurred at 3.00 p.m. (Rod Robinson, personal communication.)

¹⁴⁰ Not available. This may refer to a meeting during Blunt’s early days in the Consular Service.

killed and wounded who were lying mingled together inside and all around the work. What I then saw of human suffering sickened my heart with horror and affected me in a manner I can never forget. Although many of our wounded had already been removed to the hospital tents, there was one whom we heard groaning from under a heap of the killed lying across his body. We extricated him and gave him what relief was available. Both his legs were very badly wounded. He belonged to the Guards, and Mr Turrell promised to inform his regiment.

As it was getting late I quitted my colleagues, and on my way to camp I met some Guardsmen conducting a few Russian prisoners, most of whom were drunk. Some were singing and dancing or, rather, hopping about, others were crying, while one, after making the sign of the cross on his breast, attempted to inflict kisses on the cheeks of one of the Guardsmen, to the great amusement of his comrades. I regret that I am unable to give more incidents of this great battle - one of the most important in the annals of our wars - which cost us so many valuable lives, and nearly ended in a great disaster to our Army. My services with Lord Lucan at the time precluded my being an eyewitness of most of the fighting.

It was but a few days after this battle and very early on the morning of Tuesday, Nov 14th, that a violent hurricane accompanied with torrents of rain swept over the coast and the encampments of the allies, overthrowing the tents and even unroofing and otherwise damaging houses and cottages in Balaklava and the villages Karani, Cadikioi and Kamara. Many, or rather most, of the tents of the Cavalry Division, including those of Lord Lucan and his staff were beaten down, mine - a small one - being among the first that suffered. The horses also broke loose and the troopers had great difficulty to secure them. In the afternoon, officers coming from Balaklava reported that a terrific storm was raging all along the coast and that several ships of war and many transports were wrecked or totally lost. Towards evening, however, the storm subsided but was followed by a fall of snow, and a bitter cold, which increased the sufferings and privations of the troops, especially of those serving in the trenches.

Lord Lucan, all the members of his staff, as indeed all the officers and men of his Division, with the exception of Major General the Earl of Cardigan, who was enjoying the comforts of his yacht the ‘*Dryad*’, in the harbour of Balaklava¹⁴¹, were exposed to wet and cold and spent a very miserable and sleepless night.

Next day I was very busy looking after my scattered belongings, most of which I found in a pitiable and useless condition. I had to go down to Balaklava to endeavour to renew my kit. While there, I was told that of our transports, most of them loaded with stores for the army were totally wrecked and their crews drowned. The large steam transport ‘*Royal Prince*’¹⁴² with 1000 tons of winter clothing and a large quantity of gunpowder and small arms ammunition, was driven ashore and became a total loss with all hands on board. Not one of our ships of war was lost, but several were damaged, among them the ‘*Sampson*’ commanded by my old friend Captain (‘Vinegar’) Jones.

Next day I again visited Balaklava and went on board one of the transports anchored in the harbour to secure some groceries and while I was on deck the mate called my attention to some corpses which the sea breeze was driving into the harbour with

¹⁴¹ In his Chapter 8 (Section F, below), Blunt comments adversely on the remarkable leeway given to Cardigan.

¹⁴² This ship was the ‘*Prince*’. It was loaded with essential stores, including the winter clothing vital to the British Army. Its loss was a disaster and a (temporary) scapegoat was found in Captain Christie.

carcasses of horses, cattle and sheep and a lot of trusses of compressed hay. One of the corpses was that of a young woman, stripped of her clothes, and whose long black hair spread out and was undulating with the movements of the in-gliding waves. Although her face was swollen and somewhat disfigured, she was very like a Mrs Andrew who did my washing at Varna, and whose husband had died there of cholera while employed by the Commissariat.

When I went on shore, I was told that the body would be buried in a trench on the opposite or western side of the harbour. It being near sunset, and as I was on foot, I returned to the camp and next morning I again visited Balaklava, and called at the office of the Harbour Master, Captain Christie was his name if I remember well¹⁴³, to inquire as to the identity of the body. The Captain was absent, and I was told by his Assistant¹⁴⁴ that the woman had been buried early in the morning and that it was not possible, in the circumstances, to obtain any information as to her identity. I subsequently made inquiries at Varna but could get no reliable information as to her movements. Mr Charnaud of Varna, who knew the young woman, informed me, in answer to my inquiry, that she had left Varna towards the middle of September in a steam transport bound to Liverpool.

I felt, however, at the time and always have felt that my surmise as to the identity of the body was correct.

The hurricane was followed by an increase of dysentery and cholera among the troops, especially among those serving in the trenches - and also among the Turks at Balaklava. Our Cavalry was in a pitiable condition, which increased the anxiety and solicitude of Lord Lucan. The men were suffering from sickness caused by wet, cold and exposure, and their horses were actually starving, most of the large supplies of Barley and Hay shipped for their use having been lost and the remainder damaged during the hurricane. I remember seeing the starving animals actually nibbling each other's manes and tails. His Lordship addressed a strong report to Head Quarters on this state of things, and was subsequently authorised to send Captain Fellowes D.A.Q.M.G. to Constantinople to purchase necessaries for both men and horses; and I was ordered by Lord Lucan to accompany and assist him as Interpreter.

We arrived at Constantinople early in December and put up at Pera. As Captain Fellowes made most of his purchases through the Commissariat, he kindly dispensed with my services during most of the few days we were in that City. I called at the Embassy to pay my respects to the Ambassador but he was too busy to receive me. I was however very glad to learn from Count Pisani that His Excellency had kindly recommended me to the Earl of Clarendon for the post of Vice Consul at Volo in Thessaly. I also renewed my old acquaintances and took good care to provide myself with a proper winter outfit. Captain Fellowes having completed his purchases, we embarked in the steam transport ‘*Jason*’ on the 14th and arrived at Balaklava early on the morning of the 16th of December.

The Cavalry Division having been removed down to the plain and encamped there in the vicinity of Cadi-Kioi and Balaklava, Lord Lucan established his Head Quarters in one of the largest cottages which, on the whole, was a habitable dwelling. Dr McDonnell and I shared one of its rooms, a small one, but large enough for both of us and our few belongings. It had one window opening towards that part of the plain where the Cavalry was encamped. Lord Lucan was doing his utmost to provide his Division with huts and stables, and it was with very great difficulties he succeeded in procuring the necessary

¹⁴³ Sir John is correct with the name, but not with the job title. Captain Peter Christie was the Principal Agent of Transports in the Black Sea, with a very different remit. He was also a victim of grave injustice (see ‘*Brief Biographies*’).

¹⁴⁴ Charles A. Pritchard was the Secretary to the Principal Agent of Transports.

materials for the purpose. He employed in their construction his troopers, assisted by Turkish soldiers under the direction of a subaltern of the Royal Engineers and I was ordered to attend at the works to control the Turks and report to his Lordship on their work and conduct. According to my entries in a scrap book¹⁴⁵ which I kept at the time (one of the few mementos of the Crimea which I saved from the conflagration at Salonica that gutted the Consulate - September 1890), the total number of Turks who thus assisted us was 2480¹⁴⁶, averaging 124 men present at each of the 20 working days between the 23rd of December and 17 January 1855. There were only a few malingerers among them and, although they were all ill-fed and badly clothed, most of them worked for us willingly and well; and when I occasionally replenished the tobacco pouches of some they heaped blessings on my head. I should add that Lord Lucan on more than one occasion sent me with his thanks to Rustem Pasha for the assistance thus rendered by his troops.

During the last two months I was at Balaklava, I was not kept very busy by Lord Lucan, and I employed my spare time in going round the camps of the Allied troops, but I visited more frequently the Turkish Officers in order to improve my colloquial knowledge of their language. As the Commissariat Camp was a few minutes walk from our Quarters, Lord Lucan occasionally sent me there with messages to Assistant Commissary General Murray who was always kind to me. I very frequently dined with him and his two assistants, Mr Slade and Mr Servantes. I was in fact treated by them as an honorary member of their mess, and I have always gratefully remembered their genial and generous hospitality.

I may here mention two incidents connected with their entertainments. Early in January after an excellent dinner we played a few rubbers of Whist, Bridge¹⁴⁷ not then having been introduced. One of the players, a young Subaltern from the trenches, whose name I have forgotten, having no ready money with him, placed on the table an I.O.U. for the few shillings he had lost, and remarked ‘God knows if I shall live to honor it’ – or words in that sense. I was told a few days afterwards that he had been killed in the trenches.

The second incident affected me personally: one evening after dinner while chatting and enjoying our Cigars with hot punch, a violent gale of wind suddenly began to blow over the camp and nearly laid low the Mess tent. It was with great difficulty we made it fast, and prevented the collapse of a small stove that had been recently fixed in it. I then bid good night to my hosts and walked homewards. As the wind was still blowing hard and the night was pitch dark I had some trouble to reach a ditch dug for draining the Balaklava and Cadi-Kioi road which was converted by the rain and melted snow into a quagmire. In attempting to leap over this ditch, my feet crushed into some soft substance and the rest of my body sprawled on the muddy road. Immediately I freed my feet my olfactory nerves were sensible that I had disturbed the carcass of some object in an advanced state of decomposition. I sickened and was in a dilemma as to what I should do.

At first I thought of returning to the Commissariat Camp. I however proceeded towards our quarters and, on approaching them, discarded my boots and socks, and pulled off my trousers and drawers, the ends of which were soiled, and chucked them all away

¹⁴⁵ It would be extremely interesting to recover this ‘scrap book’. (See *Introduction*.)

¹⁴⁶ A total of 2480 man-days of service. (David Kelsey, personal communication.)

¹⁴⁷ ‘*Biritch*’, a Russian card game, was introduced to England shortly after the Crimean War, possibly as a result of it having been played by captured British officers and their captors. The name was corrupted to ‘Bridge’. (Mike Hargreave Mawson, personal communication.)

before I entered the house. When I ventured into my bedroom I found Dr McDonell¹⁴⁸ awake and reading a newspaper.

He stared at me, expressed his surprise at my semi-nude condition, and inquired what had befallen me. On my telling him he cried out ‘For God’s sake, open the window at once! You will infect the whole house!’ I complied with his bidding and reassured him by declaring that before I entered the house I had chucked away all my soiled clothes. He calmed down, told me to wash my feet, have a good pull at my flask of brandy and go to bed.

Next morning I went to the scene of my misadventure and found that my feet had disturbed the carcass of a mule! ‘*Requiescat in Pace*’.¹⁴⁹

¹⁴⁸ **Correctly ‘Macdonell’. Was Dr Macdonell an early convert to the emergent ‘germ theory’ of infection?**

¹⁴⁹ **‘May It Rest In Peace’.**

F.

‘The Earl of Lucan’

[Blunt’s ‘Chapter 8’ : Source: D-31]



‘The Earl of Lucan’

LIEUTENANT GENERAL THE EARL OF LUCAN – HIS RECALL – UNQUALIFIED REGRET – PROPOSED INQUIRY – OFFER TO TESTIFY – CHARGES WITHDRAWN - MY POSITION ON HIS STAFF – CHARACTERISTIC INCIDENT – HIS DEPARTURE FROM THE CRIMEA – APPRECIATION OF MY SERVICES – PERSONAL IMPRESSIONS.

Lord Lucan had a firm and resolute character, was cool and brave under fire, had excellent health and powers of endurance and was most attentive to his military duties. I may here add that while most of the general officers were invalided after Inkerman, in consequence of wounds or sickness, Lord Lucan was absent only two or three days from duty, owing to the wound he received at the Battle of Balaklava. What struck me most at the time was his constant solicitude for the men and horses of his Division and his untiring efforts to alleviate their sufferings during a long, severe and dreary winter.

Nearly every day, even when it rained or snowed, he would visit the Cavalry Camps to inquire as to the condition of the men, and minister to their wants. The news, therefore, of his recall was received by the officers and men of his Division with

unqualified regret.¹⁵⁰ About a year after he left the Crimea I heard that a Court of inquiry was to be held in London regarding the action of his Lordship and the condition of the Cavalry Division in the Crimea while under his orders, and I at once wrote to my uncle, Mr John E. Blunt, at that time Master in Chancery, an account of his Lordship’s command with particular reference to the battle of Balaklava and to his endeavours and care for the wintering and comfort of the officers, men and horses of his Division¹⁵¹, and I requested him to inform his Lordship that I was prepared to go to London to give my evidence if of any use. My uncle forwarded my letter to Lord Lucan and subsequently sent me the answer he received from his Lordship, of which the following is a copy:-

Hanover Square,

April 11, 1856

Sir,

I have to acknowledge and thank you for so kindly furnishing me with the satisfactory testimony of your nephew, who acted during the whole time I was in the East as my Secretary and Interpreter. No one knows better how far I exerted myself in the discharge of my duties, and, from his intelligence and character, there could be no more valuable witness. But I do not propose calling witnesses, except to contradict themselves, unless Colonel Tulloch by the course he is taking should make it necessary. Pray thank your nephew for me. I will write and do so myself as soon as I can. I liked him very much as an Interpreter and as a Companion. He was always very willing to assist me in the field, and in camp, and frequently acted as my Secretary.

Yrs sincerely,

Sgd. Lucan

I subsequently heard from my uncle that Colonel Tulloch had formally withdrawn his accusations against his Lordship as he and his brother Commissioner were convinced that they had been misled by the evidence given in the Crimea.¹⁵²

Lord Lucan was always most kind to me during all the time I served under him. I never heard a harsh word from him, and I always remember with gratitude his kind heartedness and the countenance and support he extended to me. I was at the time but a young man, scarcely 21 years of age¹⁵³, and, but for the kindly interest taken in me by his Lordship, I would have felt much out of place, the Interpreters employed by the Army during the war not then being regarded in any other light than as outsiders.

¹⁵⁰ **Not by all his men.** Cardigan carefully noted the complaints of some of Lucan’s aides-de-camp.

¹⁵¹ Unfortunately, this account has not been traced.

¹⁵² **Blunt’s statement of the reason is questionable, but the ‘Report of the Board Of General Officers’, (sometimes referred to as the ‘Chelsea Board’, or the ‘Whitewash Board’) did conclude ‘Upon the whole, we are satisfied by the evidence, documentary and oral, adduced before us, and by a perusal of the Earl of Lucan’s divisional orders and correspondence, that his Lordship used every exertion to meet the peculiar difficulties which he had to contend with, and that he is therefore not chargeable with neglect in the performance of the important duties attached to his command.’ (David Kelsey, personal communication.)**
[<http://crimeantexts.org.uk/sources/reports/bgolucan.html>]

¹⁵³ Blunt was 22 years old at the time.

In this connection, I add with pleasure that, besides Captain Morris¹⁵⁴ and Captain The Hon Charteris whom I have already mentioned in a previous Chapter, all the other members of Lord Lucan’s Staff, viz: Lt. Colonel Lord William Paulet A.A.G., Major McMahon, A.Q.M.G., Captain Fellowes, D.A.Q.M.G., Captain Walker 1st A.D.C., Lt Lord Bingham (the present Lord Lucan) 3rd A.D.C. and Dr McDonnell, Principal Medical Officer, showed me much kindness and treated me as a comrade.

The following incident is characteristic of Lord Lucan: - Towards the end of November 1854, during a very cold afternoon, I came across a Tartar holding a sheep’s skin jacket with the fur inside (called by the natives ‘Shuba’). On my asking him the price, he declared that it was not for sale but, on shewing him a sovereign, he grabbed it with one hand and with the other surrendered his ‘Shuba’. I at once put it on. Shortly after, I met Lord Lucan returning from the Cavalry camp. He admired my acquisition and wished to have one like it. I offered it to him telling him I much doubted if I could find a similar new one at Balaklava.

He thanked me but refused my offer. The same evening before dinner I again offered him the ‘Shuba’ jacket, assuring him I had no need of it. He then kindly accepted it and always wore it when out riding at Balaklava.

During the Russo-Turkish war 1877-8, while I was employed on special service by Lord Derby in the Balcan (*sic*) districts, my wife went home¹⁵⁵ and sometime after her arrival there I received a letter from her giving me the following description of a visit Lord Lucan paid her :-

‘A few days ago Lord Lucan called, and much pleased as I was to make his acquaintance, I was not a little startled and amused at the extraordinary costume he appeared in before me. He wore an old sheep’s skin coat such as the shepherds in Macedonia wear. His Lordship, much amused at my tell-tale look, laughed and said ‘I see you are surprised that I appear before you in this turn-out, but you will be more pleased than surprised when I tell you that I do so to prove to you that I have not forgotten your husband. This jacket he gave me some 25 years ago during a very cold winter at Balaklava. I have always attached value to it as a souvenir of his kindly attentions to me while serving as my Interpreter and Secretary during the Crimean War.’¹⁵⁶

His Lordship left the Crimea the 15th February¹⁵⁷ taking me with him. We arrived at Constantinople on the 17th and on the 19th of the same month he embarked for Home.

I accompanied him on board to wish him God speed, and on my thanking him for all his kindnesses to me he placed in my hands a letter saying ‘This is for you, Blunt. I have told Lord Stratford you have been very useful to me. I wish you all good luck.’ I bid him good bye, being moved by feelings of sympathy, regret and lively gratitude.

¹⁵⁴ Captain William Cholmeley Morris was D.A.Q.M.G. in the Cavalry Division until the death of Major Willet on 22 October, 1854, when he resumed regimental duties in the 17th Lancers. He commanded that regiment in the Charge of the Light Brigade. (See ‘*Brief Biographies*’.)

¹⁵⁵ To England.

¹⁵⁶ See *Appendix 2* to this Chapter.

¹⁵⁷ 1855.

The following copy of his parting letter¹⁵⁸ will not be out of place here:-

Constantinople, Feb^y 19th, 1855

My dear Sir: I cannot part with you without thanking you for your constant attention and civility to me during the ten months you have been attached to me as Interpreter. From your knowledge of languages you have been very useful to me, and from the zeal and attention you have shewn, you have much pleased me. Not alone as an Interpreter but in the field, and particularly at Balaklava, in the action of October 25th 1854, you assisted and were of use to me. I wish you all success and happiness and shall be glad to hear of your employment in the Public Service.

Yours sincerely

Sd Lucan

To J. E. Blunt, Esqr

Lt Gnl

Having been asked by my father what circumstances impressed themselves most on my memory during my service in the Crimea I answered him as follows:-

First. The splendid discipline and indomitable courage of the British Troops, and the heroic patience with which they – both officers and men – bore the great privations and sufferings of a very severe winter campaign.

2^{dly}. The superior military organization and system of the French Army, and the incompetency and carelessness of some of the departments of the British War Office in providing supplies for our troops.

3^{dly}: The lenity and forbearance of restraint shewn by Lord Raglan and General Airey¹⁵⁹ to Major General the Earl of Cardigan commanding the Light Brigade: He was allowed to enjoy every night the comforts and pleasures of his Yacht anchored in the harbour of Balaklava while sickness was prevalent in the Cavalry Camp and officers and men of his Brigade were suffering from great discomforts, and the want of the most indispensable necessities. At the battles of Balaklava and Inkerman his Lordship arrived on the field from the yacht about one or two hours after the Russians had begun their attacks! But with all this he was high-spirited and as bold as a lion.¹⁶⁰

4^{thly} – The condition of the Turkish Troops at Balaklava and the manner in which they were treated by their allies.¹⁶¹

¹⁵⁸ Photographs of this letter are included in the Blunt Papers in Birmingham.

¹⁵⁹ That Raglan was partial to Cardigan seems clear - they were related by marriage - but that Airey should be similarly accused is most unusual. (Rod Robinson, personal communication.)

¹⁶⁰ His courage, at least, was never disparaged. Many of his other characteristics were.

¹⁶¹ A reference in Fortescue's *History of the British Army*, Vol XIII indicates that the Allied dislike of the Turks was first observed in Bulgaria, where Allied troops were much incensed by seeing Turkish troops abusing the local population. Raglan reported to the Duke of Newcastle that British troops had observed Turkish troops robbing the peasants of the money that the British had just paid them for provisions. [Raglan to Newcastle, July 19, 1854]. This is cited as the reason why Raglan did not want the Turks to be integrated with his own army, as he feared a riot between them. Despite that, Lucan certainly strongly defended the Turks of Balaklava in the House of Lords on 19 March, 1855. (Rod Robinson, personal communication.)

Appendix 1 to Blunt’s ‘Chapter 8’: Letter from Lord Lucan (formerly Lord Bingham).

Telegrams: Laleham

LALEHAM HOUSE,

STAINES

Feb 15 1908

Dear Mr Blunt,

I am much obliged to you for sending me the enclosed for my perusal, also for your flattering remarks about my father.

I hope that you are in good health.

Yrs truly,

Lucan

Appendix 2 to Blunt’s Chapter 8: Extract from ‘My Reminiscences’ by Lady Fanny Blunt, John Murray, London, 1918. pp 181-182.

‘Another pleasant surprise soon followed. On a warm bright day about the middle of May [1878], Milly, the blackie¹⁶², came to tell me that a gentleman had asked to see me but had given no name. I told her to show the visitor up, wondering who it could be. A fine handsome man, past middle age¹⁶³, dressed in a long sheepskin coat that went down to his knees, walked in. I could not hide my surprise, and wondered whether my visitor was quite right in his mind to come out in so wintry a coat on a hot day in the middle of the London season.

He warmly shook hands with me, saying, ‘I am Lord Lucan - you must be surprised to see me in this sheepskin coat, but I put it on in memory of your good husband who had secured it as a precious possession during the Crimean War. When I asked him to get a similar coat for me he insisted on giving me his own, and it proved of such service to me that I put it on to-day in order that you might see it, as I want you to tell him how much I appreciated the gift.’

I thought it most kind of Lord Lucan, who I had never met before, to come and see me and talk so nicely about my husband, who had begun his career in the Service¹⁶⁴ by being attached to Lord Lucan’s staff as First Interpreter to the British Forces in the Crimea. In consequence of my husband’s useful services and the part he took in the Battle of Balaclava, he was awarded the Crimea Medal and clasps and the decoration of the Turkish Medjidié, which he valued with the friendship and confidence of his chief (Lord Lucan) to whom he became deeply attached.’¹⁶⁵

¹⁶² Millie was a black serving girl.

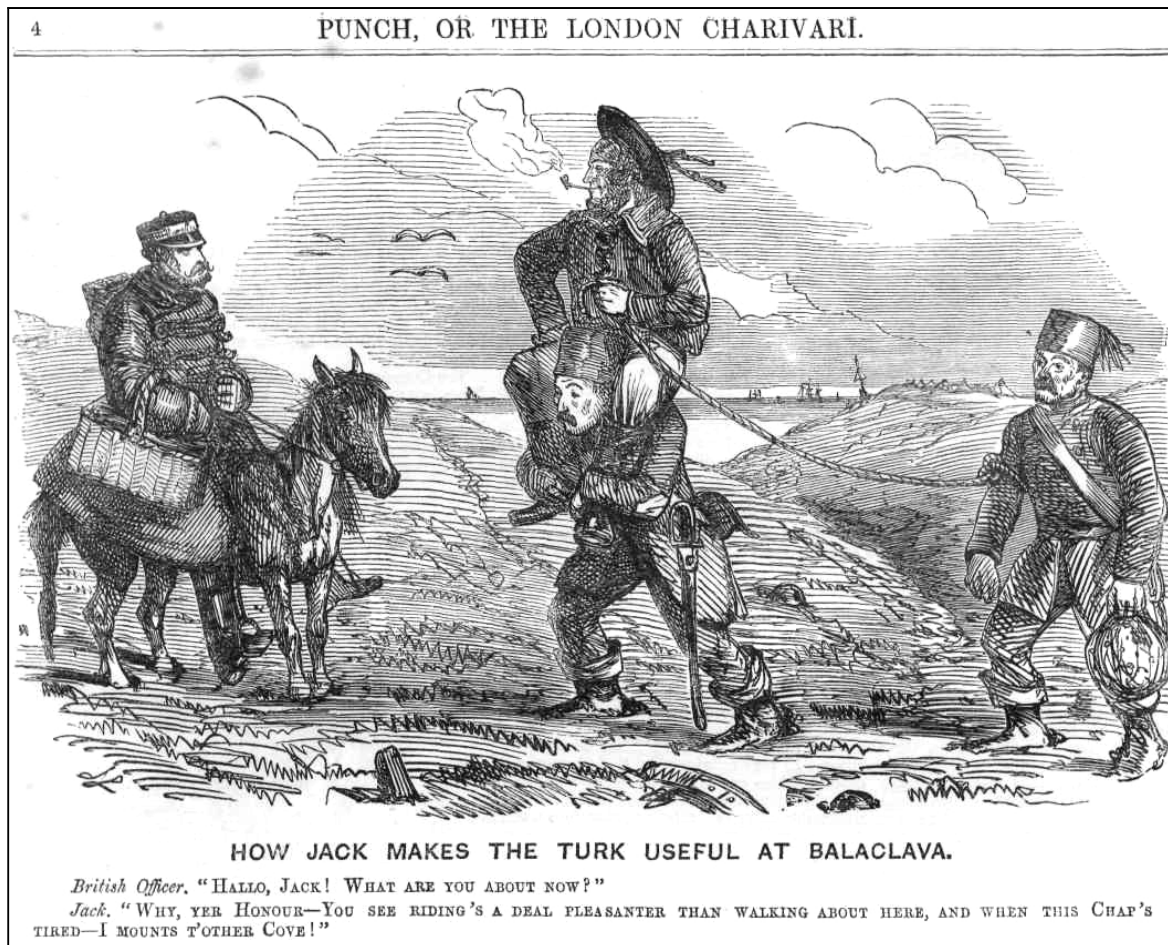
¹⁶³ Lucan would have been 78 years old at this time.

¹⁶⁴ Blunt was in the British Consular Service prior to joining Lord Lucan’s Staff and returned to that Service (for the next 47 years) after his Crimean War experience.

¹⁶⁵ This appears entirely true, although others (such as Lucan’s Irish tenantry) had alternative views. To the latter, he was known as ‘*The Destroyer*’ for his actions in ‘improving’ his Galway estates. His son, correctly described in Blunt’s text as Lord Bingham, was a far more benign character.

G. ‘Turkish Troops in the Crimea’

[Blunt’s ‘Chapter 9. Part I.’: Source: D-32]



‘Punch’, January, 1855.

TURKISH TROOPS IN THE CRIMEA – THEIR CONDUCT – REMARKS ON AND RECOLLECTIONS OF – THEIR HOSPITAL – HARROWING CONDITION OF THEIR SICK AND WOUNDED – THEIR ILL TREATMENT BY THEIR ENGLISH AND FRENCH ALLIES – LONDON PERIODICAL ON – THEIR PATIENCE AND DISCIPLINE.

It is a note-worthy fact and in distinct contrast to the adverse opinions expressed on the conduct of Turkish troops at Balaklava by various Officers and others, that both Lieutenant General Lord Lucan and Major General Sir Colin Campbell, who were in command, and witnessed the storming of the redoubt on Courobert Hill¹⁶⁶ – early on the eventful day of the 25th of October 1854 – expressed their admiration¹⁶⁷ of the gallant stand which some five hundred Turkish Rediffs (Militia) made against the assault of the enemy, fully six times their number, who were supported by several batteries of artillery; further I should add that both Generals, being sensible of the defects and weakness of the

¹⁶⁶ Canrobert’s Hill (Redoubt 1).

¹⁶⁷ This is apparently not true for Sir Colin Campbell (Douglas J Austin, unpublished information).

other redoubts, were not at all surprised that their small garrisons abandoned them; but as a general rule Officers and men in the British and French camps indignantly, although unjustly, accused the Turks of cowardice and in consequence treated them contemptuously; while the letters of newspaper correspondents and others published in England on this subject caused a mischievous outcry against them.

Even Sir William Russell, the eminent and impartial correspondent of the ‘*Times*’ echoed the general indignation in his accounts of the battle of Balaklava. Subsequently, however, on learning from Lord Lucan, Sir Colin Campbell and other reliable sources, the brave stand the Turks had made and the loss they had suffered in defending the redoubt on Courobert (*sic*) Hill, he withdrew his imputation of cowardice against them.

Kinglake also does justice to the Turkish troops in the following striking passage, in his description of the battle:-

‘If our people in general had but known the truth they would have been guilty of unspeakable meanness when they cast off all blame and laid it upon the Turkish soldiery – upon men who had been not only entrusted with the honour and friendship of our army, but were actually engaged in a post of danger in defending the first approaches to the English port of supply’.

The disdain and small consideration shown towards the Turkish troops by their allies aggravated their privations and sufferings during the exceptionally severe winter of 1854. Ill supplied as they were with clothing, food and an adequate Medical Staff or hospital accommodations, many of them died of cholera, scurvy and other diseases, while not a few succumbed to exposure and starvation. Shortly before I left the Crimea with Lord Lucan¹⁶⁸, an Adjutant on Rustem Pasha’s Staff showed me a report in which it was stated that within 3½ months after landing, nearly half of the Turkish contingent at Balaklava, composed of about 4000 men (this number includes some of the contingent serving with the French Army), had died, and many of the remainder were not fit for active service, and yet, although decimated by sickness and want, Rustem Pasha, as I stated in a previous chapter, complied with Lord Raglan’s request to lend some of his troops to help in the construction of stables for our Cavalry, while between December 23rd 1854 and January 17th 1855, he sent to the Cavalry Camp for that purpose, altogether 2480 men¹⁶⁹, in small bodies of from 50 to 150 each working day. These were employed in digging foundations and carrying stones and other material for the stables.

Although the men were deprived of proper clothing and food and looked weak and sickly, they, on the whole, worked well and uncomplainingly. At first they objected to carrying heavy stones on their shoulders and asked for barrows which, however, were not procurable at the time.

Some of these men also complained to me of being hooted and molested by our troops as well as by the French. I myself witnessed several instances of their ill-treatment. On more than one occasion I saw parties of our men, and of Zouaves, forcibly oblige Turkish soldiers to carry them with their bundles on their backs across quagmires and pools on the Balaklava road.¹⁷⁰

I also remember seeing one afternoon, on my way from the Commissariat Camp to Lord Lucan’s quarters, three Zouaves stop a Turk and forcibly take from him a faggot of vine roots he was carrying on his shoulders for firewood. The man, in bitterly

¹⁶⁸ This must have been early in February, 1855. Rustem Pasha was killed at Eupatoria on the 17th of the month. Lucan and Blunt left the Crimea on the 15th.

¹⁶⁹ A total of 2480 man-days of service. (David Kelsey, personal communication.)

¹⁷⁰ See the ‘*Punch*’ cartoon at the head of this Chapter.

complaining to me, declared that he had been nearly the whole day digging out the root from frozen ground. I testified my sympathy by offering him a shilling which he respectfully declined. Almost immediately after, I met a French General with his Aide-de-camp. I saluted and ventured, while pointing to the three Zouaves still visible in the distance, to report their misconduct to him. He very courteously thanked me and remarked, ‘*Ah, les coquins! Je les arrangerai, moi!*’.¹⁷¹

Besides being subjected to bad treatment, a report was spread and credited among the English and French troops that some of the Turks who abandoned the redoubt during the battle of Balaklava, helped themselves to the property of the English Cavalry during their retreat, in other words were guilty of plundering the camp of their allies! Now far be it from me to wish to paint the Turkish soldier as a person for whom plunder or loot has no temptation, such is not the case. The Turk, human as his Christian brother, like him is by no means averse to a little looting on his own account, thus to augment his scanty rations and generally inadequate clothing he gets from his Government; but I can, and do, assert that on this particular occasion it was not loot obtained from our men which was contained in the bundles they were carrying during their flight on that memorable day, and which probably gave rise to the report I have mentioned. Poor fellows! It was their own scanty belongings that they were taking with them to put in a place of safety, probably realizing that those redoubts hitherto held by them would know them no more after that day.¹⁷²

I was in the immediate vicinity of the Cavalry Camp and saw them, tired and downcast after the experiences they had just undergone, and the fatiguing flight across the plain to a place of safety, throw their bundles on the ground and lie down beside them to rest. Some even spread on the ground their ‘*Sedjadehs*’ (small prayer carpets) or their overcoats and turning towards the East, as prescribed by the Koran, began to recite their prayers. However, Lord Lucan’s orders were to get them all on at once, and, unwilling as I was to disturb their devotions, I bade them proceed to Cadi-Kioi and there leave their belongings and form up with the Turks from Canrobert redoubt behind the Highlanders. They all obeyed except one who requested to be allowed to finish his ‘*Namas*’ (prayers). I willingly complied, respecting his zeal for his religion at such a moment.

The plundering or looting, if actually any did take place during the battle, was, I should say, far more attributable to nondescript crowds of camp followers who prowled about and who would not be likely to neglect any favourable opportunity for looting.¹⁷³ I saw one of them hurrying away from the battlefield with a saddle in his hands, but on seeing me approaching he dropped it and ran off, while I was vainly regretting that my other duties prevented my going in pursuit of him, and that the Provost Marshal and his Police were nowhere in the vicinity to secure and punish the thief.

Very severe hardships were also endured by the Turks on account of the inadequate hospital arrangements made for them. A few days after the battle of Balaklava, Lord Lucan sent me to Rustem Pasha to enquire as to the condition of the men wounded in the battlefield. Accompanied by the Pasha’s Aide-de-camp, I proceeded to a dilapidated building, which was converted into a temporary hospital. I found it in a very insanitary condition, which beggars all description. Its unfortunate inmates, wounded and sick, many of the former with wounds festering from want of being dressed, and the latter, suffering chiefly from cholera and dysentery, were lying promiscuously on the mud floor huddled together, some on mats and some even without any covering, many of them writhing and groaning, the whole presenting a harrowing spectacle, while the sole

¹⁷¹ ‘Ah, the rascals! I’ll sort them out myself!’

¹⁷² This acceptable explanation has seldom, if ever, been advanced.

¹⁷³ This is also a acceptable explanation.

attendance was limited to one Doctor, an Assistant Surgeon and four or five Turkish soldiers, improvised as nurses. The Doctor told me that most of the Balaklava wounded, were on the whole progressing favourably, but that the sick were in a hopeless condition. I reported this bad state of things to Lord Lucan and was told by him that Sir Colin Campbell had already sent a report to Headquarters on the subject. Subsequently I heard that the Sublime Porte, at the request of Lord Raglan supported by Her Majesty’s Ambassador, Lord Stratford De Redcliffe, had promised to detach a large frigate to serve as a hospital at Balaklava for the wounded of the Turkish contingent.

In referring to this statement as to the condition of the Turkish sick and wounded, I do not wish to make out that the hospital arrangements on their allies side were all that could be desired, but they were, indeed, very far superior to the Turkish inasmuch as all facilities existed for transporting the seriously sick and severely wounded to Constantinople where their wants could be properly attended to. On the other hand it is a noticeable fact that an exceptional proportion of the Turkish wounded, handicapped as they were by the lack of proper treatment, nevertheless made wonderful recoveries which most of the Doctors whom I saw during that and other campaigns agreed in attributing to their modest country life and to the sanitary injunctions of Mahomet on ablutions, total abstinence from alcohol and simplicity in living.

Very shortly before I left the Crimea I received a letter from my uncle (John E Blunt, late Master in Chancery) asking me if I could substantiate the charges contained in the subjoined paragraph in a London periodical regarding the bad condition and ill-treatment of the Turkish troops at Balaklava. (He omitted to give me the name of the periodical.¹⁷⁴) I sent him full corroborative information on the subject supported by the above and other incidents which I now forget.

Copy of the paragraph:

‘With an inhumanity disgraceful to those concerned we have permitted thousands of miserable wretches to be cast on the shores of the Crimea to be insulted and oppressed, and to die of exposure and starvation. We know nothing more shocking and more touching than the accounts transmitted to this country of the condition of the unfortunate Turks of Balaklava and of the manner in which they have been treated.’

Here, I should add that the Turkish Officers, in speaking of the ungenerous treatment their men received at the hands of the allies, assured me that Rustem Pasha always earnestly exhorted them ‘to be patient, resigned and not forget that the English troops were the guests of the Sultan and were fighting in defence of the integrity of the Ottoman Empire.’

Situated as I was in daily contact with the Turkish contingent at Balaklava, by reason of my interpreting duties between our Camp and theirs, I had ample opportunities of observing the conduct of the men generally, and, indeed, I was much struck by the forbearing manner in which they endured their bad treatment and long suffering, and I cannot but speak respectfully of them for the patience, discipline and courage they manifested under the most trying circumstances.¹⁷⁵

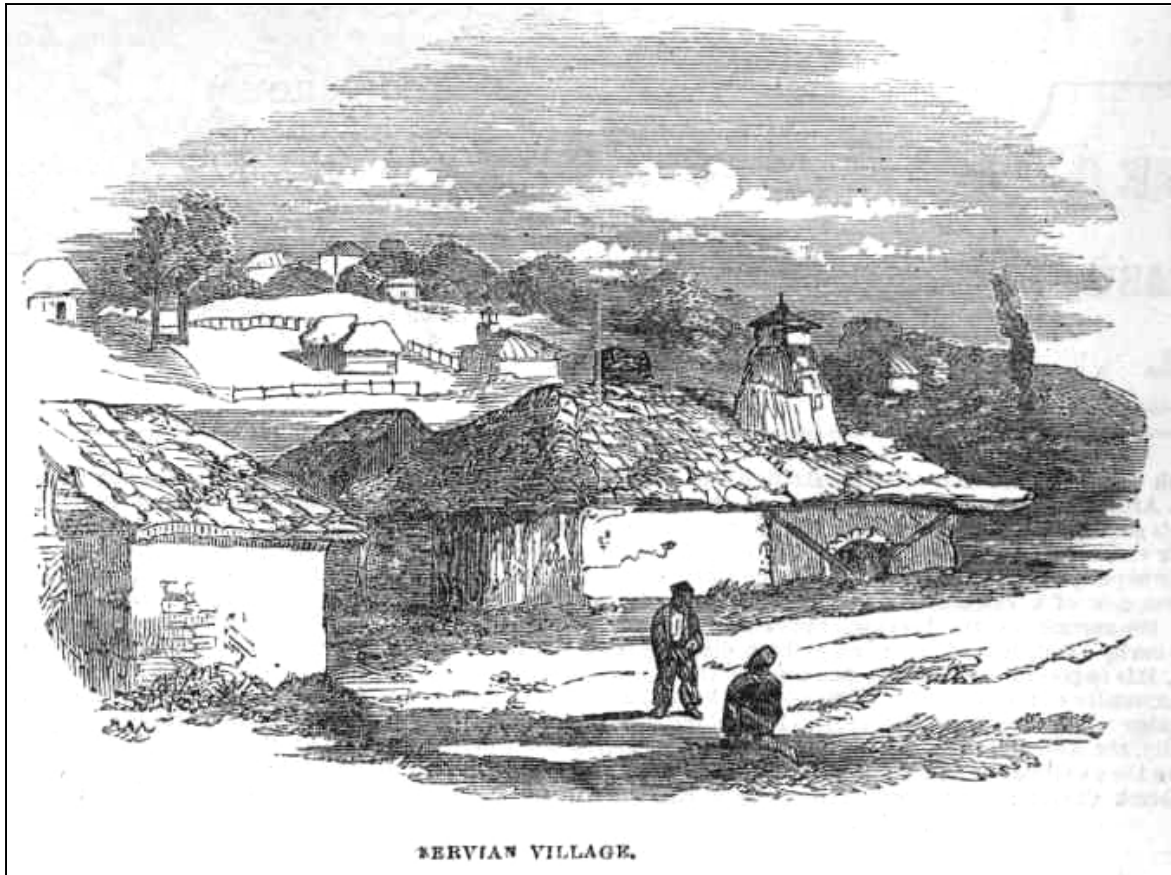
¹⁷⁴ The identity of this periodical has not yet been determined.

¹⁷⁵ For far too long, the Turkish troops in the Crimea were denigrated by their Allies. This is an emphatic defence of them, by one who knew and interacted with them closely.

H.

‘After the Crimea’

[Blunt’s ‘Chapter 10’ : Source: D-49]



‘Illustrated London News’, Jan. 14, 1854

VICE CONSULAR APPOINTMENTS IN THESSALY - CALVERT TO LARISSA, SELF TO VOLO - DESCRIPTION OF VOLO - VISIT TO MILITARY GOVERNOR OF THESSALY - GREEK INSURGENT BANDS - TRIBUTE TO GOOD WORK BY BRITISH CONSULS IN DISTURBED DISTRICTS - MY SEVERANCE FROM THE ARMY ON APPOINTMENT TO CONSULAR SERVICE - MY ALLEGED DESERTION - APPOINTED AGENT OF LAND TRANSPORT CORPS IN THESSALY - RECEIPT OF CRIMEAN MEDAL AND CLASPS - THE HONOURABLE HENRY STANLEY AND ZEINEL PASHA - CONGRATULATORY LETTER FROM LORD CARLISLE - MY FIRST AND LAST VENTURE IN TRADE - EXCURSION INTO THESSALY WITH CALVERT - VISIT TO THE METEORA MONASTERIES - DESCRIPTION OF - EXCESSES COMMITTED BY ALBANIAN IRREGULARS AND GREEK BANDS - APPOINTMENT OF PEPÉ MEHMED PASHA GOVERNOR GENERAL OF THESSALY - HIS DRASTIC TREATMENT OF A CORRUPT CADİ - PROMOTION OF CALVERT TO SALONICA - MY TRANSFER TO USCUB - MULTIFARIOUS CONSULAR DUTIES AT VOLO - VISIT OF ALMA JONES V.C. - DEPARTURE ON LEAVE OF ABSENCE - AMBASSADOR’S DESPATCH APPROVING MY SERVICES IN THESSALY.

After spending a few pleasant days with my friends at Constantinople in making my preparations to embark for Balaklava at the end of the month¹⁷⁶, I received a note from Count Pisani informing me of my appointment to the newly created Vice Consulate at Volo, the seaport of Thessaly. I at once went to the Embassy to thank Lord Stratford de Redcliffe, but he was in conference with the Grand Vizir. Next day I called again and was very kindly received by His Excellency. He told me that I was to consider myself under the orders of Her Majesty’s Consul at Salonica who would send me a formal letter of authority together with instructions for my guidance in my official relations with the local authorities.

On taking leave of His Excellency, he ordered me to proceed to Volo as soon as possible and to report to him occasionally on the situation of my Vice Consular district. Count Pisani also informed me that my friend Mr Charles Calvert¹⁷⁷ was to proceed as Vice Consul to Larissa, the Capital of Thessaly, and that, like me, he was placed under the orders of the Consul at Salonica. I was very glad to have Calvert as a Colleague and neighbour in Thessaly, Larissa being some forty miles distant from Volo. (He had acted as H.M.’s Consul at Damascus from April to December, 1850; and subsequently at Beirut¹⁷⁸ (Syria) from May 1852 to March 1854.) He was about eight years older than I (I was barely 22 years old.¹⁷⁹) and as he had considerable experience of the consular Service, I felt I could rely on his advice and assistance in any difficult case I might have to deal with.

I arrived at Volo during the Month of April and put up for a few days in the house of Mr Yalla, an Ionian and well to-do merchant, who had been recommended to me by the Consular Authorities of Salonica, and it was to him that I was subsequently indebted for much useful information on the condition of the country. Volo, at the time I am writing of, was a small seaport very prettily situated at the foot of Mount Pelion, at the head of its large bay, in which whole fleets could ride at anchor in perfect safety. It then consisted of a few houses, together with a good many shops, warehouses and grain stores, all of which were built mostly of wood. Its two or three small shipping wharfs were also built of timber.

Its population at that time consisted of about 2500 inhabitants, three-fourths of whom were native Greeks and the remainder comprised Turks, Levantines and some Salonica Jews, but the latter were very few in number as they could not compete with the subtlety of the Voliotte Greeks. Most of the latter resided in the pretty villages of Portaria and Macrinitza on the slopes of Mount Pelion about three miles distant from Volo, where they only attended on business days. The Caimacam (Sub-Governor) the Members of the Medgliss (Council) and a few civilians, all Mahomedans, resided in an old Genoese fort garrisoned by a few gunners to serve ancient and Honey-combed guns in case of need. This had, like most similar Genoese constructions in the Levant, a Budrum (black hole) into which condemned and uncondemned prisoners were cast indiscriminately to await their fate.

The export trade of Thessaly, via Volo, was considerable. It comprised cereals, tobacco, silk pods, potatoes, olive, sheep and goat skins, firewood and Abba cloth, a thick woollen stuff manufactured and much worn by the natives. But this trade, which by all accounts was of growing importance, had very sensibly decreased during the

¹⁷⁶ February, 1855.

¹⁷⁷ Not be confused with Charles Robert Cattley, who became the *de facto* chief of British Intelligence in the Crimea. (See ‘*Brief Biographies*’ under ‘Calvert’.)

¹⁷⁸ Now Beirut, Lebanon.

¹⁷⁹ Blunt was 23 years old.

insurrectionary movements got up by Greece in 1852-3-4 at the instigation of Russia. The Turkish Government, however, having suppressed these movements and spared no effort towards insuring tranquillity and encouraging a feeling of confidence among the Christians, trade began to revive in the winter of 1854; and when I arrived at Volo, in the Spring of 1855, I saw several shipments made of potatoes, charcoal and firewood for the Allies in the Crimea; and during that and the following year further shipments were made by the Volo merchants, for our Commissariate, consisting chiefly of potatoes, hay, barley, a few horses and mules, besides a large number of cloaks made of Abba cloth for the use of our troops during winter.

The import trade of Volo during the period under review was very limited: it consisted chiefly of twist and other cotton, goods from Manchester, and hardware from France, Austria, Birmingham and Sheffield; the other items were sugar, coffee, soap, paints and colours. Most of the above were imported via Constantinople, Smyrna, Salonica, and the Pireus¹⁸⁰.

When Mr Calvert arrived at Volo, I accompanied him to Larissa to present to the ‘Mutessarif’ (Lieutenant Governor) the Sublime Porte’s ‘Iradehs’ (Orders) directing the Provincial Authorities to recognize us as British Vice Consuls in Thessaly. The Mutessarif being absent, we were received by the Acting Governor and Commander-in-Chief of the troops, the Ferik (Lieutenant General) Cherkess Abdi Pasha, a Circassian ‘pur sang’¹⁸¹ of noble descent. In course of conversation he told us that on the whole the situation at Epirus and Thessaly had improved; that there were still a few bands, consisting chiefly of brigands, lurking about in the mountains, but he expected that most of them would disperse, surrender or return to Greece, as diplomatic relations had been recently resumed by the Ottoman and Hellenic Governments. He at the same time expressed the hope that England and France would insist upon the Hellenic government indemnifying the peasants of Thessaly, chiefly Christians, who had suffered from the ravages perpetrated by the bands of so-called Greek liberators.

He added that many of these bands, most of them formed in Greece, were composed of brigands who had not only plundered and burned villages and farms and carried off some 800,000 sheep from both provinces but had murdered those who attempted to protect their homesteads. With regard to the Christians of Epirus, Abdi Pasha declared that they were not deserving of much consideration as large numbers of them had taken up arms and actively supported the Hellenic bands, fighting against the Sultan’s troops. His Excellency also spoke to us, in grateful thanks, of the moral support rendered to the Ottoman Authorities in Epirus by Consul Saunders of Ioannina, and Consul Longworth of Monastir, and in Thessaly by Consul Blunt of Salonica, who, he added, had been sent to the disturbed districts during 1853-4 to caution the Christian inhabitants against joining or assisting the Hellenic bands. He at the same time expressed the hope that Calvert and I would follow their example. We assured him that we were instructed by Her Majesty’s Ambassador to report regularly to him on the state of the country as affected by the Hellenic insurgent bands from Greece, and at the same time to afford to the Ottoman Authorities encouragement and support in their efforts to establish and maintain tranquillity in the disturbed districts. As we rose to take leave, the Pasha asked me if I was connected with Consul Blunt of Salonica, and on my answering that I was his son, he appeared very pleased and said that he had known him many years as a good friend.

¹⁸⁰ Piraeus.

¹⁸¹ ‘pure blooded’.

Here I may state that after some 23 years, while I was employed on special service in Thessaly from April 1878 to June 1879¹⁸², I had the pleasure of renewing acquaintance with Abdi Pasha, who had been raised to the rank of Field Marshal and arrived at Larissa to take over the command in chief of the troops in that province.

He knew Thessaly well, and as he was an honest upright and energetic Pasha, and moreover, was not fanatical and always discountenanced any display of fanaticism in others, he was beloved by the Christians and Jews and succeeded in maintaining order in the country. With reference to the appreciation of the Pasha of the action of Consuls Blunt, Longworth and Saunders, I found among my father’s papers the following extract from a letter to the ‘*Times*’ of 1854¹⁸³ on the subject:

‘*The Times special correspondent in Thessaly and Epirus, 1854.*’

‘THE GREEK INSURRECTION’: ‘The exceptional power of the Consuls in Turkey is one of those two-edged weapons which I found usually doing more mischief than good, and whoever has had occasion to observe the annoying interference in the internal administration and the frequent petty quarrels of these little tyrants must have rejoiced to see that this dangerous and too often abused power happened in these trying circumstances to be in such good hands. You have heard of the beneficial influence of Mr. Blunt¹⁸⁴ in Thessaly; I have repeatedly witnessed that of Messrs Saunders and Longworth in Epirus. Without the exertion of these two gentlemen the Turks would certainly not have succeeded in quieting Epirus. People did not trust the Turkish promises; they had too often been deceived. In this mistrust, a mediating power was required equally respected by both parties – it was that of the representatives of the western powers. Mr Longworth may claim the honour of re-establishing tranquillity in the North, Mr Saunders in the South of Epirus.’

Calvert undertook to report to the Ambassador our interview with the Pasha, and next day I returned to Volo where shortly after I received a letter from Mr Suter, Chief Interpreter on the Head Quarters Staff in the Crimea, strongly recommending me to report as soon as possible to Major General Airey why I had not resumed my duties at Balaklava and warning me that I ran the risk of being reported and treated as a deserter! In my reply I informed Mr Suter that, while preparing to leave Constantinople for the Crimea, at the end of February, I was officially informed by Her Majesty’s Ambassador of my appointment as Vice Consul at Volo, where I was ordered by His Excellency to proceed by an early opportunity; that I at once wrote to the Assistant Adjutant General of the Cavalry Division informing of my appointment and requesting him to submit my resignation to Head Quarters, and that I left my letter at the Commissariat Office at Constantinople to be forwarded at Balaklava.

As I had kept the draft of the letter, I sent Mr Suter a copy. I heard nothing further on the subject¹⁸⁵, but in the course of the year I was appointed with the approval of the War Office, Agent in Thessaly of Her Majesty’s Transport Corps¹⁸⁶ for the Army in the Crimea; and early in November I received a letter from the Office for Military Boards

¹⁸² During and just after the Russo-Turkish War.

¹⁸³ ‘*The Times*’, June 21, 1854.

¹⁸⁴ This was Sir John’s father, Charles Blunt, sometime H.M. Consul at Smyrna and Salonica.

¹⁸⁵ Clearly some bureaucratic mix-up. Blunt was formally struck off the list of Interpreters with the British Army as from February 28, 1855: ‘*General Orders*’ dated April 29, 1855.

¹⁸⁶ The Land Transport Corps.

dated October 1855 transmitting to me the Medal with three Clasps, graciously granted by the Queen for service in the Crimea¹⁸⁷.

It was during my Consular service in Thessaly that I made the acquaintance of the Honourable Henry Stanley, Secretary of Legation at Athens, who came to Volo on a short visit to Zeinel Pasha, whom he had known at Constantinople while serving as Attaché at Her Majesty’s Embassy there. (He succeeded as Third Baron Stanley of Alderly, June, 1869.)

On being informed of his arrival in Volo as a guest of the Pasha, I considered it my duty to call and tender him my services. I was received at the Pasha’s residence by one of his numerous attendants, a Mahomedan Albanian, who conducted me to the reception room and begged me to wait for a few moments till the Pasha and the ‘*Milordo*’ had finished their ‘*namas*’ (Prayers). This intimation surprised me not a little.

As I waited fully a quarter of an hour, I was about to leave the room when the Pasha was announced. I had already met him at Larissa during my late visit there. He approached and welcomed me very courteously; and was shortly after followed by Mr Stanley to whom I introduced myself, mentioning the purport of my visit. He thanked me adding that he was leaving Volo in the evening and hoped to see more of me when he renewed his visit to the Pasha. Next day the alleged conversion of a ‘*Milordo*’ to Mahomedanism was the general talk of the town, the Pasha’s servants having gone about declaring that they had seen His Excellency and his English guest performing ablutions and divine service together¹⁸⁸.

Zeinel Pasha was a native of Epirus and belonged to one of the clans of the Tosk Albanians. He spoke Greek fluently, better than Turkish, and had some influence in his country as well as in Thessaly, where he held the appointment of Derbent Agha, Commander of the irregular troops, all Mussulman Albanians who were employed in guarding the ‘*Derbents*’ (Mountain passes) and in assisting the levying of tolls on all goods, native or foreign, carried over them. These tolls were also levied in Albania and Macedonia and, owing to the arbitrary vexatious manner in which they were exacted, had caused great irritation and gave rise to constant complaints on the part of the merchants who imported foreign goods, chiefly British manufactures.

Her Majesty’s Consuls at Ioannina, Monastir and Salonica, as well as Vice Consul Calvert and myself, reported fully on this subject to Lord Stratford de Redcliffe, who, after repeated representations succeeded in inducing the Sublime Porte not only to altogether abolish the tolls in question, but also to confine the protection of mountain passes to regular troops only. Zeinel Pasha was in consequence recalled to Constantinople and was subsequently appointed Mutessarif (Governor) of Nish (This frontier district, one of the richest in Bulgaria, was ceded to Servia under the Treaty of Berlin, 1878), an important district then included in Bulgaria and contiguous to Servia.

Mr Stanley was not then aware, nor was I, that this Pasha enjoyed a reputation of the worst kind. He was, from all I heard in Thessaly and Bulgaria, very corrupt and was addicted to abnormal and licentious practices. I was therefore not surprised to learn at

¹⁸⁷ These clasps would have been for Alma, Balaklava and Inkerman. The Sebastopol clasp would have been sent separately and subsequently. (Mike Hargreave Mawson, personal communication.) In error, the Crimean War Medal Roll (Staff) does not show his entitlement to the clasp for Balaklava.

¹⁸⁸ It is quite possible that Henry Stanley was, in fact, a practising Mohammedan at this time. In later years, he went through several (bigamous) forms of marriage according to Muslim rites in Algeria and Constantinople. In 1903, he was buried at Alderley, according to Muslim rites conducted by Ridjag Efendi, the Imam of the Turkish embassy.

Nish while employed there in 1860 on special service by Sir Henry Bulwer (Her Majesty’s Ambassador at Constantinople) in connection with the tour of inspection of the Grand Vizir Kibrisly (= native of Cyprus = ‘Kibris’) Mehmed Pasha in European Turkey, that Zeinel Pasha had been publicly tried there and found guilty not only of embezzlement of public money but of corrupt and tyrannical malpractices of a grave character, and that the Grand Vizir had in consequence, with the approval of the Sultan, dismissed him from the service, shorn him of the title of Pasha and other honours and sent him to be imprisoned in Demotica, a town in the province of Adrianople (King Charles XII of Sweden was interned there as the guest of the Sultan during 1710 after the decisive battle of Pultowa).

It was very shortly before or after Mr Stanley’s visit to Zeinel Pasha at Volo that I received from the Earl of Carlisle¹⁸⁹ a very kind and pithy letter congratulating me on my appointment to Volo and expressing the hope that I had arrived in Thessaly in a more flourishing condition and with brighter prospects in front of me than had Jason when he landed at Iolchos (Ancient Volo) with only one shoe or sandal on, to claim his father’s rights from Pelias (Jason is usually represented in sculpture as naked and wearing only one sandal or buskin). I have always regretted that His Lordship’s letter and a copy of his *‘Diary of his visit to the Levant’* which he subsequently sent me were burnt during the great fire at Salonica, September 20th, 1890, which destroyed the Consulate with most of its contents.

Not long after Calvert and I arrived in Thessaly, Mr Charles Borrell, son of an English resident of Smyrna, established himself at Volo as a Commission Merchant. As we were both permitted by the Foreign Office to engage in trade, Mr Borrell made a proposal, which I accepted, to enter into partnership together for the purchase of goods on Commission for the Contractors of the British Army. We succeeded in procuring and executing some orders for the delivery of potatoes, barley, hay, etc. for the troops in the Crimea, but as both Calvert and I had no aptitude for trade, much less the time to personally assist Mr Borrell in the venture, and as, moreover, the profits were inconsiderable, the concern under the title of *‘Borrell and Blunt’* with Calvert as a sleeping partner was dissolved with mutual consent in 1856; my share of the profits having amounted to about forty pounds sterling. The experience I gained during this venture showed me how unsatisfactory is the system of granting permission to certain Consular Officials to engage in trade.

During the summer of 1856, I accompanied Calvert on a short excursion to the western districts of the province. We went to Calabaka first, where we inspected the sites of the decisive battle of June 1854, when the Turkish Army under the aforesaid Cherkas Abdi Pasha completely routed the Greek bands and put an end to the insurrection.

We next went to the village of Castraki and visited one of the Greek Meteora Monasteries which are built on the summits of high perpendicular rocky cliffs or precipices and to which access could only be obtained by a man being hauled up to their entrances in nets or baskets by windlasses worked by the monks. Calvert and I made our ascent in the above manner to one of these monasteries, but seated or, rather, cooped up as we were in a round basket somewhat small for two persons, we both felt uncomfortable and a little nervous during our ascent which was more than 200 feet high.

On reaching the entrance we were welcomed by the Egumenos or Superior of the Monastery who, after we had taken some refreshments, conducted us to the Church – a large one built partly of stone and marble and adorned with rich images and paintings of Christ, the Virgin Mary and the Apostles. We next visited the small library comprising

¹⁸⁹ (Probably) George William Frederick Howard, 7th Earl of Carlisle (1802-1864), a Liberal politician and reformer in Britain and Ireland. [DNB]

some two hundred volumes all printed in Greek and a few Greek manuscripts, chiefly on religious subjects. They all appeared to be in a careless state of preservation and Calvert, after cursorily examining them, told me that they were not worth much.¹⁹⁰

We also inspected the cells of the Monks most of which we found to be in a very dirty condition. We were next shown the kitchen and the refectory – the latter a long hall supplied with two long tables capable of accommodating one hundred monks, which number the Egumenos told us was now reduced to about twenty, the remainder having fled, some to Greece and some to Mount Athos, during the late insurrection. In answer to our inquiry if the monasteries had been at all molested by the insurgents or Turks, he told us that the Albanian Bashi-Bozooks¹⁹¹ occasionally fired their guns at them, but they, as was the case with most of the Greek bands, more frequently requisitioned bread and other provisions which the monasteries could ill afford to supply. It was getting late and we had to return to Calabaka to prepare for our journey to Tricalla and other towns, so we bid goodbye to the old Egumenos and made our descent from the Monastery, but in less time than our ascent and were glad to be on *terra firma* once more.

We arrived at Calabaka late at night and early next morning we continued our tour visiting Carditza, Tricalla, Pharsala, Domoco and Armyro. We found the state of the country more tranquil than was represented to us or described in the Greek and other foreign newspapers. The Turkish authorities, by whom we were hospitably received, assured us that all the Greek insurgent bands, after their defeat by Cherkess Abdi Pasha, had been driven back into Greece and that only some few robbers were still roaming about in small bands in the mountains but afraid to venture into the lowlands.

The Primates and other leading Christian inhabitants of most of the towns and villages we visited bitterly complained of the excesses that were perpetrated not only by the Albanian Ghega irregulars who were sent to protect them, but also by some of the numerous bands which had crossed over from Greece on a mission to liberate them from the Turkish yoke! Some of our informants told us, in answer to our inquiries, that the Albanian irregulars respected the women, committed no bloodshed, but plundered the villages and tyrannized over their inhabitants. They also admitted that some of the Greek bands or so called ‘Liberators’, mostly ruffians, plundered the Turks and Christians alike and perpetrated numerous acts of arson, rape and murder. The whole province, they declared to us, would have been completely devastated and many more of its inhabitants outraged and murdered, but for the timely decisive defeat of these bands at Calabaka by the Turkish Army commanded by Cherkess Abdi Pasha, under the orders of Fuad Effendi, Imperial Commissioner for the pacification of Epirus and Thessaly (Fuad Effendi was considered as one of the most intelligent and meritorious of the Turks of the reforming party. He always took a leading part in the foreign policy of the Sublime Porte.). On concluding our tour at Armyro, I returned to Volo and Calvert to Larissa, he, as my Senior, undertaking to report to the Ambassador the result of our enquiries.

Towards the autumn of 1856, Pepé (the stutterer) Mehmed Pasha, late Minister of Police at Constantinople, was appointed Governor General of Thessaly. He was an honest and energetic old Turk and as such enjoyed the confidence and esteem of Lord Stratford de Redcliffe who (I was informed by the Embassy at the time) advised the Sultan to appoint him to Thessaly and extend his Jurisdiction to Epirus. Shortly after his arrival at Volo, I called on His Excellency and met with a cordial reception. He told me that the ‘Eltchi’¹⁹², meaning the Ambassador Lord Stratford de Redcliffe, had assured him that Mr

¹⁹⁰ Hopefully, Calvert’s classical education allowed him to make this rapid judgement?

¹⁹¹ Usually ‘Bashi-bazouks’.

¹⁹² Usually given as ‘*Elchi*’, a variant of the Turkish ‘*Büyük Elçi*’ (The Great Ambassador).

Calvert and I would not fail to place at his disposal such information as we had on the condition and administration of the province.

As numerous visitors were announced I withdrew, but was requested to call again next day. I did so and found the Pasha in a very angry mood, so much so that I rose to withdraw when the old man jumped up, seized hold of one of my arms and led me to a seat near him. After his state of agitation had subsided a little, he pointed to pieces of a Jasmine pipe strewn about in one of the corners of the room and told me that shortly, before my visit, he had broken the pipe on the back of the Cadi (Judge) of Volo, as it was proved before him that this Cadi had received numerous bribes from both plaintiffs and defendants in causes tried in his Court! His Excellency added that he had dismissed the Cadi and ordered his removal to Constantinople to be there tried before the Shekh-ul-Islam's court; also that all the litigants who had bribed him were to be sent to Larissa to be prosecuted before the local Medjliss! On taking leave of His Excellency, he expressed the hope that I would pay him a visit at Larissa.

His treatment of the Cadi caused quite a sensation in the town but it was generally approved by Mahomedans and Christians alike as a warning to certain influential members of the provincial administration who took advantage of their position to serve their personal more than the public interests. ‘Pepé’ Mehmed Pasha's measures to remedy irregularities and correct abuses in the several branches of the provincial administration produced an excellent effect, and the readiness with which he afforded redress and protection where such were due was a subject of gratification to all classes. Both Calvert and I reported fully on the above results to His Excellency the Ambassador, who was pleased to communicate to the Grand Vizir the substance of our despatches on the subject.

In November 1856, Calvert was promoted Consul at Salonica in the room of my father who was transferred to the Consulate General of Smyrna; and, in March 1857, I was appointed to the newly created Vice Consulate at Uscub, an important Sandjak (Province) comprising districts in Macedonia and also in North Albania. Calvert was replaced at Larissa by my late Crimean colleague Mr Henry Suter and I made room for Major Stuart who had served on the Staff of General Williams Pasha of Kars. During the two years and two months I served as Vice Consul at Volo, I also acted there as Greek Vice Consul from April 1855 to July 1856; and as French Vice Consul from September to December 1855, and again in July and August 1856. I was besides further charged with the protection of Neapolitan and Sardinian subjects and shipping, so that I had multifarious and sometimes tedious and thankless Consular duties to perform, besides drawing up reports for the Embassy on the position of affairs in my district, with particular references to brigandage in Thessaly, which will form the subject of the ensuing Chapter¹⁹³.

On the whole I had little spare time for recreation. I occasionally took to riding into the country as far as the small town of Velestino and also visited the silver mines of Zaghora on Mount Pelion, where I was always hospitably welcomed by the proprietors Messrs Leahy Brothers and Mr Charles Lafontaine. But what cheered me about this time was an unexpected and most welcome visit of a Crimean hero, Captain Henry Jones V.C., known in the service as Alma Jones!, who, on recovering from the effects of his wounds, kindly came to look me up. During the two or three weeks he spent with me, the War in the Crimea naturally formed the leading subject of conversation. He gave me very graphic descriptions of the prominent part his regiment, the 7th Fusiliers, had taken, 1st at the battle of the Alma; 2^{dly} the assault of the Quarries and 3^{rdly} the assault of the Redan, at each of which actions he had been severely wounded. He, however, avoided dilating thereon.

¹⁹³ No ensuing Chapter has survived, but the ‘Blunt Papers’ in Birmingham include a number of documents on this topic.

After retiring from the Army in 1857, he served for many years with distinction in the Consular and Diplomatic services, from which he retired on a pension in 1898.

Having obtained, shortly after Captain Jones left me, six weeks leave of absence, I took my departure from Volo leaving Mr Charles Borrell in charge of the Vice Consulate, pending the arrival of my successor Major Stuart. I may here add that the day I left Volo I was very glad to receive a despatch from Lord Stratford de Redcliffe dated May 11th, 1857, expressing his ‘satisfaction at the manner in which I had discharged my vice consular duties in Thessaly’. It was on his recommendation that Lord Clarendon transferred me to Uscub, a more important and better-paid post than the Vice Consulate of Volo.

I gladly avail myself of this opportunity to add that I always retain in cordial remembrance a grateful sense of the patronage and generous consideration His Excellency extended to me during my Consular Apprenticeship. Lord Stratford de Redcliffe was a Philo-Turk in the true sense of the word¹⁹⁴ and, as such, he exercised the influence he enjoyed with the Sultan Abdul-Medjid and the Grand Vizir Rechid Pasha towards suppressing misrule and introducing the following important reforms in the administration of the Ottoman Empire.¹⁹⁵

1. The abolition of the death sentence for apostasy.¹⁹⁶
2. The acceptance as legal and binding of sworn testimony on the part of Christians and Jews as against Mahomedans in the law Courts.
3. The recognition as a separate community of native Protestants in Turkey together with the accordance to them of the same rights and privileges as enjoyed by Orthodox, Greeks and Roman Catholics.
4. The suppression of the Negro Slave Trade.
5. The issue of a Firman November 6th 1840-1 prohibiting the circulation of the infamous accusation that the Jews use human blood in their Paschal ceremonies; it is still in force and would do credit to any non-Mahomedan Country.
6. The suppression of Monopolies and other restrictions to trade.

¹⁹⁴ Clearly, so also was Blunt.

¹⁹⁵ The reforms were introduced, but were little regarded (See the ‘*Brief Biographies*’ of Lord Stratford de Redcliffe and Sultan Abdul-Medjid I, below).

¹⁹⁶ Read ‘apostasy’.

I. ‘Brief Biographies’

(by Mike Hinton, David Kelsey and Douglas J Austin)

Printed and Electronic Biographical Sources:-

1911encyclopedia = (<http://www.1911encyclopedia.org/>).

ADD MSS = British Library Additional Manuscripts.

AR = *Annual Register*.

BL = British Library, St Pancras, 96 Euston Road, London, NW1 2DB.

Boase = ‘*Modern English Biography*’, by Frederic Boase: This 6-volume book (1892-1921) contains over 25,000 biographies of English men and women from the years 1851-1900. (Facsimile edition published by Frank Cass, London, 1965.).

DNB = ‘*Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*’, 2004.

Wikipedia = (http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Main_Page).

www = World-Wide Web.

Military Abbreviations:-

A.D.C. = Aide-de-Camp.

A.D.A.C.G. = Acting Deputy Assistant Commissary General.

A.Q.M.G. = Assistant Quarter Master General.

D.A.A.G. = Deputy Assistant Adjutant General.

D.A.Q.M.G. = Deputy Assistant Quarter Master General.

Abdi Pasha : [pp 59-60, 62-63]

Turkish Lieutenant-General, also known as ‘Cherkes Abdi Pasha’ or ‘Cherkess Abdi Pasha’. Involved in the abortive Kars campaign. Blunt describes him as ‘a Circassian ‘pur sang’ of noble descent’.

Aali Pasha : [p 9]

Mehemet Aali Pasha (1815-1871), Turkish statesman, was born at Constantinople in 1815, the son of a government official. Entering the diplomatic service of his country soon after reaching manhood, he became successively secretary of the embassy in Vienna, minister in London, and foreign minister under Reshid Pasha. In 1852 he was promoted to the post of grand vizier, but after a short time retired into private life. During the Crimean War, he was recalled in order to take the portfolio of foreign affairs for a second time under Reshid Pasha, and in this capacity took part in 1855 in the conference of Vienna. Again grand vizier in that year, an office he filled no less than five times, he represented Turkey at the congress of Paris in 1856. In 1867 he was appointed regent of Turkey during the sultan’s visit to the Paris Exhibition. Aali Pasha was one of the most zealous advocates of the introduction of Western reforms under the sultans Abdul-Mejid and Abdul-Aziz. A scholar and a linguist, he was a match for the diplomats of the Christian powers, against whom he successfully defended the interests of his country. He died at Erenkeni in Asia Minor on the 6th of September 1871. [*1911Encyclopedia*]

Bingham, Lord : [pp 5, 23, 31, 48, 50, 51, 73, 100, 103, 106]

Charles George Bingham, Lord Bingham (1830-1914) served in the Crimea as an A.D.C. to his father Lieutenant-General George Charles Bingham, 3rd Earl of Lucan and succeeded him as the 4th Earl of Lucan in 1888. He retired from the Coldstream Guards in 1860. His medals were sold by Dix, Noonan and Webb on 20 September 2002 for £2,600. [For further details of his family, see Hinton, M (2004) ‘*Genealogists’ Magazine*’ Vol. 28, pp 91-100]

Blunt, George (Uncle : Judge of Meerut and Allygher) : [p 30]

George Blunt was born 11 August 1805 at Woodford, Essex, and probably died on 10 May 1857 in the massacre of Europeans in Meerut at the start of the Indian Mutiny. At Meerut on 10 Jan 1842 he married Eliza, daughter of Professor Joseph Bordwine, army officer and instructor [see DNB]; they do not appear to have had children.

Blunt, John Elijah (Uncle : Master in Chancery) : [pp 11, 48, 56]

A barrister at Lincoln’s Inn from 24 June 1822. Co-author, with Charles Ambler, of ‘[Reports of cases argued and determined in the High Court of Chancery, with some few in other courts. \[1716-1783\]](#)’: Butterworth, London, 1828 and of ‘A history of the establishment and residence of the Jews in England’: Saunders & Benning, London, 1830. He was Master in Chancery from 26 November 1849 until he died aged 59 at 45 Dover Street, Piccadilly, on 28 June 1856. [Boase i, cols. 318-9]

Blunt, Osmond Donald, Captain : [pp 4, 93]

The only child of Sir John and Lady Blunt, Captain Blunt (1870-1915) was born at Adrianople, Turkey, where his father served as Vice Consul, Consul, and Consul General, and was educated at a private school, Wellington College and University College, Oxford. Joining the 3rd Battalion, The Lancashire Fusiliers (Militia), he served with the same until, having passed 20th in the competitive examination for the Regular Army, he was gazetted 2nd Lieutenant in the 2nd Battallion, The Connaught Rangers (94th Foot), in March 1893, and served with his Battalion in Cyprus, Gozo, Malta, Alexandria, Cairo and Meerut. In 1896 he was sent on Special Service with the Maxim Battery, Egyptian Army ‘Dongola Expeditionary Force’, and - serving throughout the campaign - was present at the battles of ‘Firket’ and ‘Hafir’, being mentioned in despatches and awarded the Queen’s Sudan medal, Khedive’s Sudan medal with two clasps and the 4th Class of the Medjidieh.

Proceeding to India with his Regiment in 1897, he was the same year appointed on Special Service with the British Central African Rifles with which he served throughout the Mpseni Expedition, being awarded the medal and clasp. He was later invalided to England. In 1898 he was sent on Special Service as Staff Officer to Colonel Sir Herbert Chermiside in Crete, was present at the British Occupation of Kandra, served in the British Civil Administration of Kandra, in which he was nominated Sub-Governor of Kandra and acted as such until April 1899, being again mentioned in despatches. He was transferred to the 1st Battalion, The Connaught Rangers, joining at Athlone, Ireland, in September 1897, and in the same month sent on Special Service to South Africa to join Colonel Plumer’s Rhodesian Regiment, and served with it in Rhodesia, Cape Colony, Bechuanaland and the Transvaal and other engagements the campaign until the Regiment was disbanded in October 1900, being also present at the Relief of Mafeking (Medal with four clasps).¹⁹⁷ He was gazetted to the 1st Bn. at Malta in 1900. Appointed on Special Service with Colonel Ternan’s Force in Somaliland, he was owing to ill health unable to

¹⁹⁷ **The Blunt Papers in Birmingham include an account, very probably written by Captain Blunt, of his service during the Boer War.**

go. He was a Captain in the Lancashire Fusiliers from 20 June 1900. Sent from Malta to Crete in 1901, he acted as O.C., A.S.C., and C.R.E. remaining there until October 1902.

Captain Blunt successfully carried out several Secret Service missions for which he received the high commendation and thanks of the Commander-in-Chief. He spoke fluently French and Modern Greek and had a colloquial knowledge, in addition of Italian, Turkish, Arabic and German. In fact, some years ago, a distinguished Officer on this Station advised that - ‘On no account should this officer be allowed to leave the Mediterranean ; his services as an interpreter will be invaluable.’ [Obituary, 1915.]

Boate, Henry Charles, Assistant Surgeon : [p 10]

Henry Charles Boate was born on 3 August 1828 at Dungarvan, Co. Waterford and was appointed an assistant surgeon in the 6th Dragoons (Carabineers) on 26 November 1852. He served in the Crimea from 30 September 1854, departed with a medical certificate on 20 April 1855, and resigned on 30 April 1855. [Johnston, W, (1917) *A List of Commissioned Medical Officers in the Army 1660-1898.* Aberdeen: University Press. 1917, p 358 (Edited by H. A. L. Howell); Parliamentary Papers 1867 Session I, Vol. 9. Boate gave evidence at the McNeill/Tulloch enquiry. [2nd Report, p 29].

Borrell, Charles W. (Commission merchant) : [pp 62, 65]

Charles W. Borrell was assistant Vice-Consul at Volo in the consular district of Salonica for some periods between May 1857 and August 1861. [*Foreign Office List* 1865, p 61].

Bosquet, Pierre François Joseph, General : [p 42]

A French soldier (1810-1861), who entered the Artillery in 1833 and served with distinction in Algeria from 1834 to 1853, returning to France as a General of Division. He was amongst the earliest chosen to serve in the Crimean War, and at the battle of the Alma his division led the French attack. When the Anglo-French troops formed the siege of Sevastopol, Bosquet’s corps of two divisions protected them against interruption. His comment on the Charge of the British Light Brigade at Balaklava - ‘*C’est magnifique, mais ce n’est pas la guerre!*’ usually omits his further comment - ‘*C’est de la folie!*’¹⁹⁸ His timely intervention at Inkerman (November 5, 1854) secured the victory for the allies. During 1855, Bosquet’s corps occupied the right wing of the besieging armies opposite the Mamelon and Malakhov. He himself led his corps at the storming of the Mamelon (June 7), and at the successful grand assault on the Malakhov on 8 September he was in command of the whole of the storming troops and received another serious wound. At the age of forty-five, Bosquet, now one of the foremost soldiers in Europe, became a Senator and a Marshal of France, but his health was broken, and he lived only a few years longer. He had earned the Grand Cross of the Bath, the Grand Cross of the Legion of Honour, and the Medjidie of the 1st class. [1911encyclopedia]

Brodie, William (Attaché, Constantinople) : [p 8]

William Brodie was appointed an attaché in Constantinople on 12 December 1853 and was attached to the staff of the Duke of Cambridge during his stay in the city during 1854. He accompanied Lord Stratford de Redcliffe on both his visits to the Crimea and retired 1863. [*Foreign Office List*, 1865, p 62].

Calvert, Charles John : [pp 57-64]

¹⁹⁸ In contradiction of this assignment, William Howard Russell wrote, in a letter dated 17th October, 1904, ‘*Well dear it was Canrobert who said C’est magnifique mais ce n’est pas la guerre on 25 Oct 1854 - & no other.*’ [Wiltshire and Swindon Record Office: Ref. 1300/6561: date: 1901-1939 : Letters of Chandos, Earl of Cardigan, later Marquess of Ailesbury.]

Appointed Vice-Consul at Larissa 29 November 1854; Consul in Salonica 31 October 1856. [*Foreign Office List*, 1865, p 65]. A ‘Charles Calvert’ was British Consul in Bitola 1860-72.

Calverts and Cattley :

David Kelsey’s web-page at:- <http://crimeantexts.org.uk/sources/bsk/calverts.html> presents much information on the consular and other services of the large and wide-spread Calvert family, some of whom (see below) were involved in the Crimean campaign. All data and quoted material were taken from Susan Hueck Allen’s *Finding the Walls of Troy (Frank Calvert and Heinrich Schliemann at Hisarlik)*, University of California Press, 1999. The catalogue of the ‘5th Duke of Newcastle Archive’ at Nottingham University at http://mss.nott.ac.uk/cats/newc_5thdukeconts.html includes items which confirm the involvement of several Calverts in army supplies from an early date (March 1854). [Ne C 10504/1 19 A.D.-30.3.1854, Ne C 10312/4/2-4 and Ne C 10311/2/1-2]

Calvert, Henry Hunter :

Chanceller at the consulate in Erzerum, June 1837 to July 1855. Agent in Constantinople for the Land Transport Corps from November 1855 and was employed in Bulgaria and Wallachia on service with the corps until August 1856. He died in 1882. [*Foreign Office List*, 1865, p 65; Boase Vol 1, col. 522]

Calvert, Frederick William :

Consul at the Dardenelles December 1846 to August 1862.
[*Foreign Office List*, 1865, p 65]

Charles Robert Cattley : Served on the staff of the C.-in-C. of HM’s Forces in the East under the name of ‘**Calvert**’. He belonged to a large and prominent family of merchants in St Petersburg and was born in Moscow on 12 April, 1817. He died of cholera in camp near Balaklava on 10 July 1855, aged 38. [*Gentleman’s Magazine* September 1855, p 330]. See also ‘[*Last Of The Brave, or Resting Places Of Our Fallen Heroes In The Crimea And At Scutari*](#)’ by J. Colborne and F. Brine, p 31, No. 2. He was listed in the index as an interpreter, but he was far more significant, eventually becoming the *de facto* chief of British Intelligence in the Crimea. His important role in the war is well described in Stephen Harris’ *British Military Intelligence in the Crimean War*, Frank Cass, 1999.

‘*The Times*’ for 26 July, 1856 included the following :- ‘Outside the vineyard, at the English headquarters, there is a small graveyard which contains but two monuments. One, formed of a large horizontal slab of marble, marks the spot where lies the body of our excellent Adjutant-General, and in addition to some Russian inscriptions, has the simple words – ‘*To the memory of Major-General J. Bucknall Estcourt, Adjutant-General of the British Army, who died of cholera, June 24, 1855. Born 1802.*’ The next is a handsome cross – ‘*To the memory of C. R. Cattley, Esq., who died of cholera while serving on the staff of Lord Raglan, July, 1856 (sic).*’

While his grave gave his correct name, it seems clear that Cattley’s ‘nom-de-guerre’ was deliberately chosen, to conceal his connection with his large family in St. Petersburg. The fact that there were several real Calverts (readily confused with each other) might have made the ‘false Calvert’ more difficult to identify. The Cattley family is documented. [<http://freepages.genealogy.rootsweb.com/~hills/cattley/page1.html>]

Campbell, Sir Colin : [pp 16, 18, 22-25, 29, 53-54, 56, 84, 100-101, 104, 107-108, 112]

British army officer (1792–1863), born Macliver, assumed the name of Campbell in 1807. He served with distinction in the Peninsular War, the West Indies, China and India. In the Crimea, he commanded the 2nd (Highland) brigade of the 1st division, consisting of the 42nd, 79th, and 93rd Highlanders and fought well at the Alma and at Balaklava (‘The Thin Red Line’). He was passed over for the post of Commander-in-Chief after Raglan’s death. He later played a major role in the suppression of the Indian Mutiny (1857-1858) and was created Baron Clyde of Clydesdale in 1858.

[DNB; ‘*Illustrated London News*’, August 22, 1863.]

Canrobert, General François : [pp 23, 28, 69, 85, 99]

General (later Maréchal) François Antoine Certain Canrobert (1809-95). [M.H.Mawson, ‘*Eyewitness in the Crimea*’: London: Greenhill Books, 2001, p 288]. He served in Algeria (1835-1850) with distinction but, in the Crimea, he proved an ineffectual Commander-in-Chief of the French Army. His cautious approach earned him the sobriquet ‘Robert can’t’. [Burghersh letters and others] and he was also known, to Scottish soldiers, ‘Canny Robert’. He fought at the Alma, Balaklava (see¹⁸⁸) and Inkerman. Late in the campaign, much harassed by Napoleon III and his catspaw (General Niel) and undermined by Raglan, he resigned his position, but remained in command of his old division.

[H. Small, ‘*Journal of the Society for Army Historical Research*’, 83, 2005, pp 228-242]

Cardigan, Major-General the Earl of : [pp 6, 10, 16, 19, 27-29, 32, 34-37, 39, 43, 47, 50, 77-78, 81, 94, 96-97, 104, 109]

James Thomas Brudenell, 7th Earl of Cardigan (1797-1868) - a man reputedly of scandalous life and debatable worth - was the commander of the Light Brigade of Cavalry. Bitter antagonism with his brother-in-law (George Charles Bingham, 3rd Earl of Lucan, Commander of the Cavalry Brigade (see ‘Lucan’, below) was one source of serious command-and-control problems in the cavalry function before and after the landing. Cardigan spent five months in the Crimea, leaving on 12 December, 1854 following a medical board. He became known as the ‘Noble Yachtsman’ because he was permitted to sleep on board his private yacht ‘*Dryad*’ in Balaklava harbour for much of his limited time in the Crimea. He led the Light Brigade bravely in the disastrous charge at Balaklava on 25 October, 1854. Acclaimed a hero on his return to England, he impudently sought and was denied exceptional honours, although he was later appointed as Inspector of Cavalry. His book ‘*Eight Months on Active Service*’, Clowes, London, 1855, is very interesting, but is primarily an exercise in self-justification. In 1863, he took Raglan’s former aide-de-camp, the Hon. Somerset Calthorpe, to court for asserting in three editions of a book ‘*Letters from Headquarters*’ that Cardigan had returned from the charge at Balaklava without reaching the Russian guns and without waiting to rally survivors. Cardigan won his case but was unsuited on a time technicality. He challenged Lucan to a duel for supporting Calthorpe, but this never took place, because Lucan arrived in Paris after his challenger had returned to England. For memoirs, see DNB and ‘*Gentleman’s Magazine*’ May 1868, pp 676-7.

Cathcart, Sir George : [p 42]

British soldier (1794-1854). He was the third son of the 1st Earl Cathcart, born in London. He was educated at Eton and Edinburgh University. In 1810 he entered the army, and two years later accompanied his father to Russia as aide-de-camp. With him he joined the Russian headquarters in March 1813 and he was present at all the great battles of that year in Germany, and of the following year in France, and also at the taking of Paris. The fruits of his careful observation and critical study of these operations appeared in the ‘*Commentaries on the war in Russia and Germany 1812-1813*’, a plain soldier-like history, which he published in 1850. After the peace of 1815, he accompanied his father

to the Congress of Vienna. He was present at Quatre Bras and at Waterloo, as an aide-de-camp to the duke of Wellington, and remained on the staff till the army of occupation quitted France. Reappointed almost immediately, he accompanied the duke to the congresses of Aix-la-Chapelle and Verona, and in 1826 to Prussia. Promoted Lieutenant-Colonel in 1826, he was placed on half-pay in 1834. He was recalled to active service in 1838, and sent as commander of the Kings Dragoon Guards to Canada, where he played an important part in suppressing the rebellion and pacifying the country. He returned to England in 1844 and two years later was appointed deputy-Lieutenant of the Tower, a post which he held up to the time of his promotion to Major-General in 1851. In March 1852, he succeeded Sir Harry Smith as Governor and Commander-in-Chief at the Cape, and brought the Kaffir war, then in progress, to a successful conclusion. He promulgated the first constitution of Cape Colony, and conducted operations against the Basuto. Cathcart was made a K.C.B. and received the thanks of both Houses for his services (1853).

In December 1853, he was made Adjutant-General of the Army, but never entered upon his duties, being sent out to the Crimean War as soon as he arrived in England. He was even given a dormant commission (later withdrawn) entitling him to the chief command in case of accident to Lord Raglan, and the highest hopes were fixed on him as a scientific and experienced soldier. Those hopes were not fulfilled. He delayed important infantry movements at Balaklava and fell in a rash advance at the battle of Inkerman (5 November, 1854). His remains, with those of other officers, were buried on Cathcart's Hill.

[DNB; ‘*Colburns United Service Magazine*’, January 1855; Correspondence of the Hon. Sir George Cathcart relative to Kafraria (1856)]

Charnaud, Mr : [pp 11, 44]

A British merchant of Varna. The main base of this family seems to have been Smyrna. John Charnaud was British Consul at Salonica immediately before Charles Blunt and was later Vice-Consul in Smyrna.

Charteris, Captain Walter : [pp 21, 27, 30-31, 48, 103, 105-106, 109]

Captain the Hon. Walter Charteris, 92nd Highlanders, fourth son (b. 1828) of the Earl of Weymss and March, was decapitated by a cannon ball during the battle of the Balaklava on 25 October, 1854, while serving as an extra ADC to his maternal uncle, the Earl of Lucan (see ‘Lucan’, below). He entered the service during 1846 [‘*Gentleman's Magazine*’ December 1854, p 644]. [Mauk, W. B. (1993-4) ‘*The War Correspondent*’, Vol. 11, No. 1, p 28]

Christie, Captain Peter (RN) : [pp 43-44, 78]

Captain Peter Christie of Durie (Fife) (1797-1855) was the Principal Agent of Transports in the Black Sea (i.e. not the Harbour Master at Balaklava) during the first winter of the war. He was most unjustly accused of incompetence and gross negligence after the hurricane of 14 November, 1854, which killed many men and destroyed and damaged many British transports. The principal losses were of the ‘*Prince*’ (fully loaded with winter clothing) and the ‘*Resolute*’, an ammunition ship. Ill-founded reports in some newspapers, especially ‘*The Times*’, included the most serious charges against Captain Christie and led to considerable turmoil and low dealing in Parliament.

His brother, Napier Turner Christie, privately published a pamphlet, now rare - ‘*Facts relating to the late Captain P. Christie, R.N. while Principal Agent of Transports in the*

Black Sea, Avery, Aberdeen, 1855 - which tells the story of this episode, amplified by the scathing accounts by Nicholas Woods of the ‘*Morning Herald*’.¹⁹⁹

After the Battle of Balaklava on 24 October, Raglan and his H.Q. Staff ordered preparations for the abandonment of the port and laid down that docking should be restricted until further notice. Those orders, sensible enough as they stood, exacerbated the supply problems for the British Army. Captain Christie repeatedly requested Captain Sidney Colpoys Dacres (Senior Naval Officer in the port) to allow the ‘*Prince*’ to get into harbour, but permission was not granted. ‘*Had Dacres given him the use of the tugs, he could also have saved the ‘Resolute’ and ‘Rip Van Winkle’.*’

Despite the solid support of more than 80 Captains of Transports, Rear-Admiral Sir Edmund Lyons summarily dismissed Captain Christie from his post, but obliged him to remain at work for some weeks until his replacement returned from Malta. At Constantinople (on his way back to England, where he expected to be a witness before Roebuck’s Committee and to seek exoneration), he was turned back to the Crimea to face a Court Martial. He actively sought just such an opportunity to clear himself but, just before the Court Martial could take place, he died of Crimean fever. The Lords of the Admiralty must have realised that Captain Christie was innocent of the charges brought against him, because they rapidly placed his name in the list of those who, had they lived, would have been made C.B.²⁰⁰ [ADD MSS 38041 ff 193-6 (O’Byrne)]

Clarke, Sir Charles (Governor of Malta) : [p 31]

Sir Charles Mansfield Clarke (1839-1932) 3rd Bt., of Dunham Lodge, Norfolk, was the Governor and Commander-in-Chief, Malta, from 1903 to 1907. His daughter Kathleen (d. 1963) married Francis Richard Bingham (1863-1935), the third son of Charles George Bingham, 4th Earl of Lucan. [Burke’s ‘*Peerage and Baronetage*’ 1999]

Connolly (Conolly), Captain James : [pp 26, 102, 109]

James Conolly, unattached, was D.A.A.G. to the Cavalry Division. He arrived in the Crimean during October 1854 and was absent with a medical certificate 12-25 August 1855 before departing with a medical certificate on 27 December 1855. He was a Brigade Major in the Heavy Cavalry and was awarded the Crimea medal with clasps for Balaklava and Sevastopol and the Legion of Honour (5th class).

[Hart’s ‘*Army List*’ 1855, p 104; CWRs Special Publication No. 12 (listed as a D.A.Q.M.G.); Parliamentary Papers 1857 Session 1, Vol. 9]

Doria, William : [p 8]

An attaché of the British Embassy in Constantinople, William Doria was a son of the Marchese di Spineto (c. 1774-1849 and began his career as a student attaché in Constantinople in 1841. He was appointed 2nd paid attaché at Constantinople in October, 1854 and was employed on special service in the Danubian provinces from January to April 1855. He passed into the regular diplomatic line and served in the East, South America, and various European countries. When Secretary of Legation to the Argentine Confederation, he married, at Tealing House, Mary James, the daughter of James Scrymgeour Fotheringham, Esq., of Pourie Fotheringham on 20 March 1862. He retired

¹⁹⁹ N.A. Woods, ‘*The Past Campaign*’, Longman, Brown, Green and Longmans, London, 1855; Vol II, pp 67-69, 87, 98-104, 323-329 and 357-361.

²⁰⁰ ‘*The Times*’ for 11th July, 1855 reported:- ‘From the LONDON GAZETTE of Tuesday, July 10. The following is a list of officers of the Army and Navy who would have been recommended for the honours of the first, second, and third classes of the Order of the Bath, had they survived:-...For the THIRD Class...Captain Peter Christie, R.N....’.

in 1877 and died at Nice on 24 October 1889. [*Annual Register*’ 1862, p 309 and 1889, p 162; *Foreign Office List*’ 1865, p 79]

Dundas, Admiral Sir James : [pp 7, 11]

James Whitley Deans (1785-1862) was the son of James Deans and took the surname Dundas following his marriage in 1808 to his first cousin, Janet, the daughter and heiress of Charles Dundas, 1st and last Baron Amesbury. Following her death in 1846, he married secondly Lady Emily Moreton, a daughter of the 1st Earl of Ducie, and a sister-in-law of Admiral Berkeley, later Lord FitzHardinge. As Vice-Admiral Sir James Dundas, GCB, he commanded the Mediterranean Fleet from 1853 and participated in the early part of the Crimean War during which time he had separate command of the Royal Navy. Lord Raglan, who Dundas did not particularly like, commanded the land forces. Dundas was fiery in his personal dealings but earned the sobriquet ‘Damn’d ass’ through his over-cautious management of the Fleet. Sir Edmund Lyons succeeded him during December 1854, apparently after the usual term of command.

[DNB; *Gentleman’s Magazine*, December 1862, pp 782-3; T. Royle, *Crimea. The Great Crimean War 1854-1856*. London: Little, Brown and Co., 1999, p 143.]

In a letter home, Captain George Frederick Dallas, 46th Regiment, recounted an amusing anecdote about Dundas’s leave-taking from the Fleet - ‘I saw someone the other day who confirmed the story in the papers, I suppose you saw it?, about the signal sent up by mistake on Old Dundas’s departure. The Middy who had charge of the signals, sent up ‘May hanging await you’, instead of ‘May happiness await you’. It was hauled down, but not before the whole fleet had read it. Good, wasn’t it?’ [M.H.Mawson, *Eyewitness in the Crimea*. London: Greenhill Books, 2001, p 87] Dundas died at Weymouth on 3 October 1862 after a ‘protracted illness, attended by severe suffering’, aged 76. There is a memorial in St Mary’s Church, Kintbury, Berkshire. [www.nmm.ac.uk/memorials]

Fellowes, Brevet Major Edward (11th Hussars) : [pp 20, 24, 26, 41, 44, 48, 101-102, 106-107, 109]

Brevet Major (12 December 1854) Edward Fellowes, 11th Hussars, served as D.A.Q.M.G., Cavalry Division in the Eastern campaign. He arrived in the Crimea on 16 September 1854, was absent from 20 January-1 May 1855 to Constantinople on duty²⁰¹, and departed on 15 September 1855 with a medical certificate. He was present at the battle of Tchernaya and was entitled to wear the Crimea medal and four clasps.

[Hart’s *Army List*’ 1857, p 45; 1860, p 77; Parliamentary Papers 1857 Session I, Vol. 9]

Fuad Pasha : [p 9, 63]

A Turkish statesman, he was the son of the distinguished poet Kechji-zad Izzet Molla. He was educated at the medical school and was at first an army surgeon. About 1836 he entered the civil service as an official of the foreign ministry. He became secretary of the embassy in London; was employed on special missions in the principalities and at St Petersburg (1848), and was sent to Egypt as special commissioner in 1851. In that year he became minister for foreign affairs, a post to which he was appointed also on four subsequent occasions and which he held at the time of his death. During the Crimean War, he commanded the troops on the Greek frontier and distinguished himself by his bravery. He was Turkish delegate at the Paris conference of 1856; was charged with a mission to Syria in 1860; grand vizier in 1860 and 1861, and also minister of war. He accompanied the sultan Abdul-Aziz on his journey to Egypt and Europe, when the

²⁰¹ This was probably his second assignment to Constantinople. John Blunt describes an previous trip there with Captain Fellowes in December, 1854, returning to Balaklava early on the morning of the 16th of December. (See Section E).

Freedom of the city of London was conferred on him. He died at Nice (whither he had been ordered for his health) in 1869. Fuad was renowned for his boldness and promptness of decision, as well as for his ready wit and his many bons mots. Generally regarded as the partisan of a pro-English policy, he rendered most valuable service to his country by his able management of the foreign relations of Turkey, and not least by his efficacious settlement of affairs in Syria after the massacres of 1860. [*1911Encyclopedia*]

Griffith, Colonel Henry Darby : [p 19]

Colonel (28 November 1854) Henry Darby Griffith, 2nd Dragoons, commanded the Scots Greys. He arrived in the Crimea on 23 September 1854 and was present at the affair of Mackenzie’s Farm and at the battles of Balaklava (during which he was wounded in the head by a pistol ball), Inkerman and Tchernaya. He departed for the Bosphorus in December 1855. [Hart’s *‘Army List’* 1855, p 129; 1860, p 137; Parliamentary Papers 1857 Session i, Vol. 9]

Hornby, Admiral : [p 7]

There is no evidence that either Admiral Geoffrey Phipps Hornby or Rear-Admiral William Wyndham Hornby served in the Black Sea. Blunt is in error.

Hughes (Attaché, Constantinople) : [p 8]

Thomas Fiott Hughes (1825-87) was student attaché in Constantinople May 1845, 5th paid attaché May 1849, 4th paid attaché October 1852, Consul at Erzerum May 1856, and oriental secretary at the Embassy, Constantinople February 1859. [*‘Annual Register’* 1859, p 519; *‘Foreign Office List’* 1865, p 103; *‘London Gazette’* 1856 ii, p 2409]. He was an accomplished linguist who was one of two selected from the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge in 1848 to be sent as attachés to Constantinople. The other was Percy Ellen Algernon Frederick William Sydney Smythe (1826-69), later 8th Viscount Strangford, whom he succeeded as Oriental Secretary. During the Crimean War, Hughes was instrumental in raising the Bashi-Bashouks. [*‘Annual Register’* 1887, p 139]

Jones, Captain ‘Vinegar’ (HMS Sampson) : [pp 7, 12, 43]

Captain (1840) Lewis T. Jones, HMS *‘Sampson’*, 6 (a paddle-wheel steam frigate), commanded the steam squadron during the bombardment of Odessa in 1854 and was present at the bombardment of Fort Constantine. He assumed command of HMS *‘London’* on 18 November 1854, a 90-gun ship built at Chatham in 1840. [Allen’s *‘Navy List’* 1855, pp 58 and 240].

Jones, Captain Henry (a.k.a. ‘Alma Jones’) : [pp 57, 64-65]

Captain Henry Mitchell Jones (1831-1916) of the 7th Regiment, was severely wounded during the battle of the Alma and the assault on the Redan on 9 September 1855 and was awarded the VC for his courage while serving with the party which stormed and took the Quarries on 7 June 1855. He repeatedly led his men to repel the continual assaults of the enemy during the night and although wounded early in the evening, he remained at his post until after daylight the following morning. He entered the Diplomatic Service in 1858. [Hart’s *‘Army List’* 1857, p 171]

Kibrish (Kibrisli) Mohmed Pasha : [p 9]

A Turkish statesman and government official, variously Grand Vizir, Minister of Police at Constantinople, and Governor-General of Thessaly. Also known as Pepé (the stutterer) Mehmed Pasha. ‘Kibrish/Kibris/Kibrisly’ means ‘a native of Cyprus’.

Layard, Austen Henry, MP : [pp 18, 24, 85, 101]

Austen Henry Layard (1817-1894) was employed by Stratford Canning, later Lord Stratford de Redcliffe (q.v.), for unofficial diplomatic missions from 1842 onward. He excavated at Nimrud and Nineveh between 1845 and 1851, with outstanding success. He served as unpaid attaché at Constantinople from November 1847 to March 1849 and 5th paid attaché April 1849 to February 1852. [*Foreign Office List* 1865, p 111]. He was the Liberal MP for Aylesbury from 1852-1857 and for Southwark from 1860-69, serving as the Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs from 1861 to 1866. He was the Ambassador at Madrid from 1869 and at Constantinople from 1877-1880, from where he was recalled in some odium. Under-secretary for foreign affairs for three months in 1852, he afterwards freely criticized the government, especially in connection with army administration. He was present in the Crimea during the war, when he observed the Battle of the Alma from HMS ‘*Agamemnon*’ and was later a member of the ‘Roebuck Committee’ appointed to inquire into the conduct of the expedition.

[1911*encyclopedia*; DNB; ADD MSS (British Library)]

Longworth, John Augustus : [pp 59-60]

John Augustus Lara Longworth (1804-75) was the British Consul at Monastir (Bitola in Macedonia) in 1852. He was employed on special service in Epirus and Thessaly March to July 1854, on recruiting service in Albania April to May 1855 and on special service in Circassia in April 1855; ‘*Foreign Office List*’ 1865, p 114. He moved from Monastir, where he was replaced by John Charles Calvert, on his appointment as Consul-General in Serbia; ‘*Annual Register*’ 1860, p 523. The Bitola consulate functioned until 1872 when it was placed under the Consul-General in Salonika. Longworth first raised the idea of opening a British Vice-Consulate in Skopje and, on 3 April 1857, his nephew (John Elijah Blunt) was appointed Vice-Consul there, where he served until 1862

In 1850, Longworth married (in Broussa) Sophia Cecilia Sandison (?1821-91), who was the daughter of Donald Sandison (1795-1869), British Consul in Brusa (now Bursa) and Mary Zohrab – and was therefore the sister of Fanny Sandison, John Blunt’s wife.

Lucan, 3rd Earl of Lucan (George Charles Bingham) : [pp 3-7, 9-13, 16-19, 22-32, 34-39, 42-45, 47-51, 53-56, 68, 71-72, 81, 88, 92, 94-97, 99-110, 112-113]

George Charles Bingham, 3rd Earl of Lucan (1800–1888) entered the Army in 1816 and rose rapidly in the ranks, most often by purchase. In 1825, he purchased a Majority in the 17th Lancers and, in 1826, he purchased promotion to Lieutenant-Colonel and held command of the regiment in Ireland and England until April 1837. During Bingham’s time in command, he ‘brought the regiment up to a very high pitch of efficiency’ and proved ‘a keen soldier, who had taken pains to study his profession’. (He was also described as an obsessive martinet.) For some months in 1828–9, Bingham served on the staff of Prince Vorontsov in Bulgaria during Russia’s campaign against Turkey, after which he received the Russian war medal and became a Knight of the Order of St Anne (Second Class).

The Bingham family owned estates at Castlebar and elsewhere in Ireland. During 1826–1830, Bingham was a Tory MP for County Mayo. He succeeded to the earldom of Lucan on the death of his father in 1839, and was elected a representative Irish peer in the House of Lords in 1840. In 1845 he was appointed Lord Lieutenant of Mayo. Still on half pay, he set out to modernize the family holdings by creating large farms using new agricultural techniques and machinery. Many tenants were brutally evicted from their dilapidated homes and lost their livelihood with the abolition of small plots and strips. On 16

November 1849, in ‘*The Times*’, Sidney Godolphin Osborne defended Lucan as ‘a practical man: that which he determines to do he sets about at once not suffering the expense of pocket or popularity to interrupt him’. To the people of Mayo, however, he ‘exhibited all the inherited ferocity of the Bingham’s’ and he became notorious as ‘The Destroyer’ (Cecil Woodham-Smith, ‘*The Reason Why*’, Penguin Books, 1973, pp 102-129)

Lucan became a Colonel in 1841 and Major-General in 1851. When war threatened with Russia, he volunteered to command an infantry brigade but was put in charge of the Cavalry Division - without reference to the commander of the expeditionary force, Lord Raglan. Neither of Lucan’s brigade commanders (the Earl of Cardigan and Sir James Scarlett, appointed respectively to lead the Light and Heavy brigades) had any experience of war. When the Light Brigade went to Bulgaria in June, Lucan remained at divisional headquarters at Kulali, near Scutari, in Asiatic Turkey. Cardigan argued (finally unsuccessfully) that his was an independent command. At the crossing of the Bulganac (during the march south to Sevastopol), Raglan ordered the Cavalry back from a confrontation with Russian troops and Lucan was blamed for lack of initiative. On the following day, during the Battle of the Alma, the Cavalry only guarded against a flank attack and, on the retreat of the Russians, the Light Cavalry began a pursuit. They were recalled by Raglan, but Lucan was blamed again. The allies soon resumed their advance on Sevastopol, electing to march round it to the east and mount a siege from upland to the south. During the flanking movement round Sevastopol to reach the port of Balaklava, Lucan led the Cavalry ahead but was badly misled by his guides. Raglan was taken by surprise when he contacted Russian troops leaving Sevastopol and Lucan was blamed yet again. As the siege of Sevastopol began, Cardigan and Lucan continued to quarrel to such a degree that Raglan addressed written personal appeals to them both, to little apparent effect.

During the Battle of Balaklava, the Russian cavalry advancing towards the port were driven off by the ‘Thin Red Line’ of the 93rd Highlanders. On his own initiative (as well as at Lucan’s order), General Scarlett led his cavalry against the main body of Russian cavalry and routed them in the brilliant Charge of the Heavy Brigade. The Light Brigade did nothing to follow up that success and Lucan blamed Cardigan for inaction. Shortly after, Raglan presumed that the Russians were about to remove the guns from the captured British redoubts and ordered Lucan to prepare to prevent this, adding that two infantry divisions were on their way down from the upland to assist (3rd Order). Lucan (rightly enough) waited for the infantry to arrive.

Towards 11 a.m., Airey (in Raglan’s name) sent off the fatal 4th Order, which is quoted by John Blunt. That order was delivered, in a very insolent manner, to Lucan by Captain Lewis Edward Nolan, who may have had verbal supplementary orders (according to Calthorpe) but may not have passed them on. Lucan passed the written one to Cardigan, although both Generals knew that to attack directly down the North Valley was to enter a killing-ground, which indeed it proved to be. Nolan was killed very shortly after the advance down the North Valley began and thereby qualified as an obvious scapegoat for the errors of his superiors. The controversy over his part in the Charge of the Light Brigade was intense then and remains an issue to this day. Although more than half of the men of the Light Brigade returned unwounded, the heavy loss of trained cavalry horses (compounded with losses during the savage winter to come) destroyed its function as a striking force for the rest of the war. Lucan led two regiments of the Heavy Brigade in support of the advance but withdrew them after they had incurred severe casualties and he had been wounded himself.

Very shortly after the Charge of the Light Brigade, 1854, Raglan blamed (in succession) Airey²⁰², Cardigan and Lucan for the disaster. Airey’s response seems likely to have matched those of both Cardigan and Lucan – that they were simply obeying orders. Raglan told Lucan that, as a Lieutenant-General, he should have exercised his discretion. When Raglan’s despatch on the battle was published, it clearly laid blame on Lucan because ‘from some misconception of the instruction to advance, the Lieutenant-General considered that he was bound to attack at all hazards.’ Lucan refused to retract his letter of protest, which was sent on to the Duke of Newcastle, Secretary of State for War and the Colonies, together with Raglan’s comments that ‘attack’ did not appear in the 4th Order, that Lucan had not sought assistance and that he had not been properly aware of the Russian dispositions. Lucan was recalled and left the Crimea for England on 15 February, 1855. In his attempts to clear his name, he demanded (and was refused) a Court Martial and caused considerable debate in both Houses of Parliament, to no avail.

Lucan and Cardigan remained bitter enemies. In 1863, Lucan supported Somerset Calthorpe, Raglan’s nephew and aide-de-camp in the Crimea, when Cardigan brought a libel action in the Queen’s Bench against Calthorpe, who had referred less than glowingly to Cardigan’s conduct during the Charge of the Light Brigade in the first, second and third editions of his book *Letters from Headquarters*. Cardigan won his case but was unsuited on a time technicality. He challenged Lucan to a duel, which never took place (see ‘Cardigan’, above). On 25 October 1863 Lucan was invited to chair the Balaklava Day dinner in London and, predictably, Cardigan refused to attend.

Lucan’s departure from the Crimea was the end of his active military career. He became a Commander (Third Class) of the Légion of Honour and Knight (First Class) of the Turkish Order of the Mejidie. On 5 July 1855 he was appointed K.C.B., and from November 1855 to 1865 was Colonel of the 8th Hussars. He was promoted Lieutenant-General on 24 December 1858, General on 28 August 1865, and (as the senior serving British officer) Field Marshal on 21 June 1887. He was made G.C.B. on 2 June 1869 and was Colonel of the 1st Life Guards from February 1865 until his death. He regularly attended the House of Lords and, in 1858, put forward a simple and useful amendment to settle a confrontation of the two Houses on the oath of allegiance for non-Christians: each House could vary the wording. He died at his home, 12 South Street, Park Lane, London, on 10 November 1888 and was buried at Laleham, Middlesex. [DNB]

Lyons, Rear-Admiral Sir Edmund : [pp 19, 73-74]

Rear-Admiral Sir Edmund Lyons, Bt., GCB (1790-1858). He was involved in the sorry affair of Captain Peter Christie (q.v., above) after the destructive hurricane of 14 November, 1854. He served as Commander-in-Chief of the Black Sea Fleet from December 1854 until the end of the war, was nominated a military GCB on 5 July 1855, and was raised to the peerage as Baron Lyons of Christchurch on 23 June 1856. He was promoted Vice-Admiral on 19 Mar 1857 and died at Arundel Castle on 24 November 1858. [DNB]

Macdonell, Alexander Sherriff : [pp 11, 17, 44, 46, 48, 106]

Alexander Sherriff Macdonell (1805-75), Principal Medical Officer of the Cavalry Division in the Crimea, after appointments as Hospital Assistant 1827 and Assistant Surgeon 1830 [Hart’s List, 1860, pp 530 and 537]. He served with the 80th Regiment in

²⁰² (Douglas J Austin, unpublished information.)

the Sutlej campaign of 1845-6, including the battles of Moodkee, Ferozeshah and Sobraon (Medal and two unspecified clasps). Appointed Staff Surgeon 1st class in March 1854, he served in the Crimea from 17 September, 1854 (Medal and unspecified clasps, and 4th Class of the Medjidie). He departed with a medical certificate 22 November 1855 and retired on half pay in 1859 as a Deputy Inspector General. [Obituaries in ‘*British Medical Journal*’ 1875 and Drew.]

Maude, George Ashley : [pp 24, 107]

Captain George Ashley Maude served in the Royal Horse Artillery and was present at the affair at Bulganac and McKenzie’s Farm and was severely wounded during the battle of Balaklava while serving with I troop, RHA. He was awarded the Crimea medal, with clasps for the Alma, Balaklava and Sebastopol, and the 5th Class of the Mejidie. He was promoted to Lieutenant-Colonel (23 February 1856) and was later awarded the C.B. He became an aide-de-camp (Extra) to the Duke of Cambridge. [Hart’s ‘*Army List*’ 1860, pp 55, 125, 372, 391; Jocelyn, J. R. J., ‘*The History of the Royal Artillery (Crimean Period)*’. London: John Murray, 1911]

McKean/Kean, Colonel (late Inniskillings) : [pp 26, 109]

This officer served in the Zulu War of 1888. Russell Freedman’s book ‘*Scouting with Baden-Powell*’ (Holiday House, New York, 1967) states: ‘General Smyth put Major McKean of the 6th Royal Dragoons in command of four hundred mounted British troops and two hundred loyal Zulu police. McKean picked Baden-Powell as his staff officer, and they set off immediately for the besieged fort.’²⁰³

McKerrow, Alexander : [p 110]

Alexander McKerrow (1836-1927) was a Crimea veteran known to Sir John Blunt in Malta. He appears as a Private on the medal roll for the Crimea Medal with the 90th (Perthshire Volunteers) Regiment of Foot [National Archives: WO100/32 f.437.] The 90th arrived in December, 1854, and his maximum clasp entitlement would therefore be a single clasp for Sebastopol. He would also have been entitled to the Turkish Crimea Medal. The 90th went on to serve with great distinction in the Indian Mutiny and 3914 Pte. Alexander McKerrow appears on their roll for the Mutiny Medal with clasps for ‘Defence of Lucknow’ and ‘Lucknow’ [Source: Kevin Asplin’s ‘Indian Mutiny Medal Roll’: I-M, p 106]. He does not appear in the published Casualty Roll. In 1889, McKerrow was a Barrack Sergeant, appointed from the ranks of long-serving Senior Non-commissioned Officers, and it is highly likely that he also had the Long Service and Good Conduct Medal.²⁰⁴ The grave lists for the *Ta’Braxia* cemetery in Malta include:- Ethel Louisa McKerrow, aged 18 years, born in Mauritius, a daughter of Alexander and Elizabeth McKerrow, buried 13 November 1895: Elizabeth Mary McKerrow, aged 64 years, born in Dublin, the wife of Alexander McKerrow, died 28 March 1911. Her funeral was held in *Ta’Braxia* cemetery on 29 March 1911 and the report in the ‘*Daily Malta Chronicle*’ states: ‘The attendance of Sir John Blunt Kt. C.B., had peculiar significance in association with the fact that he shared the field with Mr McKerrow during the Crimean War...’. A ‘farewell concert’ was held in his honour during March, 1915, after which he returned to Scotland. He died in Perth in 1927.

McMahon, Thomas Westropp : [pp 29, 48, 106]

²⁰³ I note here the possible links between Sir John Blunt, Colonel McKean and Baden-Powell, in connection with both the Boy Scout movement and the League of Frontiersmen in Malta. (See *Introduction*, above.)

²⁰⁴ (Mike Hargreave Mawson, personal communication.)

Lieutenant-Colonel (12 December 1854) Thomas Westropp McMahon (1813-92) served with the 9th Lancers in the Sutlej campaign 1848 and in the Eastern campaign from 16 September 1854 as A.Q.M.G. to the Cavalry Division, being present at the battles of the Alma, Balaklava, and Tchernaya and the siege of Sevastopol. He was absent with a medical certificate from 4 November 1854 to 29 April 1855 and departed to winter quarters in Scutari on 18 November 1855. He later (1856) commanded the 5th Dragoon Guards. [Parliamentary Papers 1857 Session I, Vol. 9; Hart’s *Army List* 1860, p 133; McGuigan, R. (2001) *Into Battle. British Orders of Battle for the Crimean War 1854-56*. Bowdon: Withcut House, p 55]

Moore, Lionel : [p 8]

Lionel Moore, the son of Niven Moore (d. 1889) who was sometime Chancellor at the British Embassy in Constantinople [See Boase ii, col. 952 for further details]. He progressed from the sixth to the first paid attaché in the embassy between 14 December 1852 and December 1859. He retired as Consul-General at Alexandria in 1877 and died at Kendal on 4 October 1892.

[Boase ii, col. 951; *Foreign Office List* 1865, p 124; ADD MSS (British Library): Letter from Lionel Moore attaché at Constantinople to Ali Pasha (1857)]

Morris, Captain William : [pp 10, 30, 48, 104, 106]

William Cholmeley Morris (1820-1858) was born at Fishleigh, Devon, and served with the 16th Lancers in battles at Maharajpore (1843) and, in the Sutlej campaign, at Sobraon (1846), Budiwal (1846) and Aliwal (1846) during the First Sikh War. [He was a close friend of Captain Louis/Lewis Edward Nolan (see ‘Nolan’, below).] Captain Morris served on the Staff (as D.A.A.G. in Turkey, and as D.A.Q.M.G. in the Cavalry Division in the Crimea until the death of Major Willet on 22 October, 1854, when he resumed regimental duties.) On 24 October, 1854, he rejoined the 17th Lancers and commanded them during the Charge of the Light Cavalry Brigade on the following day, when he was severely wounded. He was absent with wounds from 25th October 1854 to December 1855. He left the regiment to proceed to England on 15th January, 1855, and went back on the Staff: He was D.A.G. at the Horse Guards in February, 1855. He returned to the East, where he was promoted to Brevet-Lieutenant-Colonel with the Remount Dept at Scutari from 2 November, 1855. In December, 1855, he was appointed D.A.Q.M.G. to the Turkish Contingent and proceeded to Kertch with the cavalry contingent. He returned to England in June, 1856, and was appointed D.A.A.G. at the Curragh. He died of disease on service in Poona, India on 11 July, 1858.²⁰⁵

[W. M. Lummis and K. G. Wynn, *‘Honour the Light Brigade’*: Hayward, 1973, p 243; Hart’s *Army List* 1857, p 131; Nalson, *‘Soldiers of the Queen’*, 2002, No. 105, pp 8-10 and L. Crider *‘In Search of the Light Brigade’*, Eurocommunica, Barham, 2004, pp 356-7; R White-Thompson published *‘A Memoir of Lieutenant-Colonel William Morris’* in 1903, which is available at http://www.geocities.com/clayton_veale/Morris.html]

Murray, H. H. : [pp 41, 45]

H. H. Murray, Acting Deputy Assistant Commissary General. He arrived in the Crimea on 14 September 1854 and departed to England on duty on 16 March 1856. [Parliamentary Papers 1857 Session I, Vol. 9]

²⁰⁵ His biography, entitled *‘Pocket Hercules: Captain Morris and the Charge of the Light Brigade’* by Mei Trow is due to be published by Pen and Sword Military in June, 2006.

Murray, Granville : [p 7]

Eustace Clare Grenville Murray (1824-1881) was the illegitimate son of the 2nd Duke of Buckingham and Chandos. He served as an attaché at the Vienna embassy from 14 July 1851 and then as 5th paid attaché in Constantinople from 1852; Vice-Consul at Mytilene 1853-4; Consul-General for the Russian ports in the Black Sea and Sea of Azoff, residing in Odessa from July 1858. He was horse-whipped by Lord Carrington in 1869 for a libel on Carrington's father, was charged with [perjury](#) and then escaped to [Paris](#), where he subsequently lived. He died on 20 December 1881 at Passy. A well known journalist, he wrote *'The Roving Englishman in Turkey'*, London, 1855, and *'Pictures from the Battle Fields'*, London, 1855/6. [Boase ii, cols 1043-4 has a comprehensive obituary; *'Annual Register'* 1881, p 154; www.dukesof buckingham.org; See *'Annual Register'* 1869, pp 79-82, for a report of the trial of Lord Carrington for an assault on Grenville Murray].

Mustafa Reshid Pasha : [p 67]

Mustafa Reshid Pasha (1800-1858), a Turkish statesman and diplomatist, was born in Constantinople. He entered the public service at an early age and rose rapidly, becoming ambassador at Paris (1834), London (1836), minister for foreign affairs (1837), again ambassador in London (1838) and in Paris (1841). Appointed Vali of Adrianople in 1843, he returned as ambassador to Paris in the same year. Between 1845 and 1857, he was six times the grand vizier. One of the most brilliant statesmen of his time, thoroughly acquainted with European politics, and well versed in affairs, he was a convinced if somewhat too ardent partisan of reform and the principal author of the legislative remodelling of Turkish administrative methods known as the *Tanzimat*. His ability was recognized alike by friend and by foe. In the settlement of the Egyptian question in 1840, and during the Crimean War and the ensuing peace negotiations, he rendered valuable services to the state. [1911Encyclopedia]

Nolan, Captain Louis Edward : [pp 6, 21, 27-31, 34-37, 77, 80, 95-96, 103-104, 109]

Captain Louis (Lewis) Edward Nolan (1818-1854), born in Canada. He served in the Austrian army in Austria, Hungary, Poland, and in the British army in India (without seeing combat). He was an expert horseman and swordsman and wrote two well-regarded books: *'The Training of Cavalry Remount Horses: A New System'*, 1852 and *'Cavalry: Its History and Tactics'* in 1853. As an officer in the 15th Hussars, he was A.D.C. to Brigadier-General Richard Airey, Q.M.G., in the Crimea and delivered the fatal Fourth Order from Raglan which launched the Charge of the Light Brigade at Balaklava on 25th October, 1854. He is judged to have been the first person to be killed after the Light Cavalry Brigade began to advance forward.²⁰⁶ Nolan, Raglan, Airey, Lucan and Cardigan were blamed, to varying degrees, for a catastrophic misdirection of the cavalry advance – a subject of continuing controversy. His memorial, now lost (but formerly in Holy Trinity Church, Maidstone) included:- ‘He fell at the head of the Light Cavalry Brigade, in the Charge at Balaklava on 25th October, 1854, aged 36. General Sir George Berkeley, K.C.B., on whose staff he served in India, General Airey, his brother officers, and other friends, have erected this tablet as a slight tribute of their esteem and affectionate regard, for the memory of one of the most gallant, intelligent and energetic officers in Her Majesty's service’.

[Sources: H. Moyse-Bartlett, *'Nolan of Balaclava'*, Leo Cooper, London, 1971; See also: Dr M. Gilchrist's web-page: <http://www.silverwhistle.co.uk/crimea/louisnolan.html>]

Omar Pasha : [pp 8, 26, 83-84, 109]

²⁰⁶ There is some evidence that Nolan attempted to re-direct the Light Brigade towards the Causeway Heights (Douglas J Austin, *'Nolan did try to redirect the Light Brigade'*, *'The War Correspondent'*, 23(4), pp 20-21, January, 2006). Further work is in progress on that matter.

Omar Pasha (1806-1871), a.k.a. Omer Lutfi Pasha, was born in Croatia as Michael Lattas. His father Pyotr served in the Austrian Army and was appointed military mayor of their home village. Michael was a cadet in his father’s Ogulini Regiment. His father was convicted for misappropriation, upon which Michael deserted from the army and left for Bosnia. He took up a post as tutor to the children of a Turkish merchant, on the proviso that he changed his religion from Orthodox to Moslem. When the family moved to Constantinople, the newly-named Omar was appointed lecturer at the Turkish Military Academy. He became ADC to the Polish Ottoman General Chrzanowski, who was engaged in the reorganisation of the Ottoman Army after the defeat of the Janissaries in 1826.

As a Major, Omar completed a mapping assignment in Bulgaria and the Danube territories, and aided the reorganisation of the Army. Significantly for his career, he married a rich heiress and, shortly afterwards, was appointed Military Governor of Constantinople. In 1841-42, he led a successful expedition to quell a revolt in Syria, and for a time was Governor of the Lebanon. After the Hungarian Revolution of 1848, he was put in command of the Turkish forces in Moldavia and Wallachia, when he demonstrated considerable diplomatic and military skills. He was successful in combat command in Bosnia (1851) and Montenegro (1852). A true professional, he took bold decisions and relentlessly followed them through.

[John Barham; http://www.suite101.com/article.cfm/crimean_war/42383]

Further details²⁰⁷: Omar Pasha, born Michael Lattas, a Croat, on 24th Nov. 1806; served in the Austrian Army before deserting, fleeing to Bosnia, embracing Islam, and obtaining the position of writing-master to the future Sultan Abdul-Mejid. On the Sultan’s accession to the throne in 1839, Omar was appointed Colonel, and in 1842, Governor of the Lebanon. He commanded the Sultan’s troops in Albania, Bosnia and Kurdistan, 1843-47, and in the Danubian Principalities in 1853-4. He became the Commander-in-Chief of the Ottoman Army and ‘Serdar-i-Ekrem’ (Generalissimo) in the Crimea. He landed there in February, 1855, and took command at Eupatoria, with mostly Turkish troops, where he was highly successful in its defence against superior Russian forces. In 1861 he again pacified Bosnia and Herzegovina, and overran Montenegro in 1862.

Paulet, Lieutenant-Colonel Lord William : [pp 23, 31, 48, 106]

Lord William Paulet (1804-93) was appointed an ensign in the 85th light infantry in 1821. By 1843, he was Lieutenant-Colonel of the 88th Regiment serving at Gibraltar, in the West Indies, and North America. He served in the Eastern campaign as AAG to the Cavalry Division. In November 1854, he was appointed commander of British forces ‘on the Bosphorus, at Gallipoli, and the Dardanelles’. He was entitled to the Crimea Medal with clasps for Alma, Balaklava, Inkerman and Sebastopol, and was awarded the C.B., Legion of Honour, 1st class of St Maurice and St Lazarus, and 3rd class Order of the Medjidie; Colonel, 20 June 1855; Major-General 13 December 1858. [Hart’s ‘Army List’ 1860, p 18]. From 1860 to 1865, he was the commander of the south-west district of Britain. Appointed field-marshal in 1886.

Pisani, Count : [pp 7-9, 44, 58]

Count Alexander Bartholomew Stephen Pisani (1802-1886) was admitted to the British Embassy in Constantinople as a student in Oriental languages in 1814 and succeeded his great-uncle as Count Pisani in 1829. He worked as a *dragoman* and became Keeper of the Archives in 1837. Eventually, he was promoted to Chancellier in 1844, which post he retained until he retired with a pension of £750 per annum in 1877; he was appointed an

²⁰⁷ (Mike Hargreave Mawson; personal communication.)

honorary C.M.G. on 31 July, 1879. His wife Marianna Pisani was a novelist and it is probable that his father was Alexander Pisani, who was attached to the embassy in Constantinople for 60 years. [Boase vi, col. 401; ‘*Foreign Office List*’ 1865, pp 39-40, 134; ‘*Annual Register*’ 1879, pp 243-4]

The *dragomans* in various embassies in Constantinople usually came from a remarkable group of interrelated families. The ‘*First Dragoman*’ was often the main political advisor of an ambassador. According to one British Ambassador, the Pisanis were ‘an ancient and honourable family’, but to Stratford Canning, later Lord Stratford de Redcliffe (see ‘Stratford’, below), they were ‘mongrels’.

[Source: <http://www.let.leidenuniv.nl/tcimo/tulp/Research/ahdg3.pdf>]

Reade : [p 42]

Described as ‘Vice-Consul and assistant interpreter to General Airey, QMG’ in the Crimea. He may have been one of two brothers, sons of Sir Thomas Reade (1785-1849), HBM Consul at Tunis. Their CVs indicate no obvious involvement with the Crimean campaign. [‘*Foreign Office List*’ 1865, p 137]

Richard Reade, who died at Lausanne on 14 August 1895, aged 70. Vice-Consul at Tunis 1847 and Benghazi 1862; Consul at Scutari 1863-74, for the Velayet of the Danube at Rustchuk 1874-8 and the Ionian Islands 1879-94. [‘*Annual Register*’ 1895, p 199]

Thomas Fellowes Reade, who died at Upper Norwood on 22 March 1885. Late HM’s Agent and Consul-General for the Regency of Tunis. Consul in Tangier April 1859 [‘*Annual Register*’ 1859, p 519] and appointed to Tunis on 23 June 1879. [‘*Annual Register*’ 1879, p 242]

Rose, Sir Hugh Henry : [pp 28, 99]

Hugh Henry Rose²⁰⁸, 1st Baron Strathnairn (1801-1885), British Field-Marshal, third son of the Right Hon. Sir George Henry Rose of Sandhills, Christchurch, [Hampshire](#) (minister plenipotentiary at the Prussian court), was born in [Berlin](#) and entered the 93rd Sutherland Highlanders in 1820. He transferred to the 19th Foot, in which he was promoted to a lieutenancy in 1821, a Captaincy in 1824, and an unattached Majority at the end of 1826. He was brought into the 92nd Gordon Highlanders in Ireland as a regimental Major in 1829, and was appointed [equerry](#) to HRH the Duke of Cambridge in 1830. In 1833, he accompanied his regiment to [Gibraltar](#), and in 1836 to [Malta](#). In 1839 he was promoted, by purchase, to an unattached Lieutenant-Colonelcy and, in 1840, he was selected, with others, for special service in Syria under the orders of the foreign office.

[Sir Stratford Canning](#) (later Viscount Stratford de Redcliffe) sent Rose from Constantinople on a diplomatic mission to Syria and he was then attached, as deputy adjutant-General, to the staff of [Omar Pasha](#) (q.v.), who landed at [Jaffa](#) with a large Turkish force from the British fleet. Rose distinguished himself in several engagements, and was twice wounded at El Mesden in January 1841. He was mentioned in despatches, and received high honours from the Sultan and from the [King of Prussia](#). Shortly afterwards, he succeeded to the command of the British detachment in Syria with the local rank of Colonel, and in April 1841 he was appointed British Consul-General for [Syria](#). For seven years, Rose did much to limit civil disorders and his services were warmly recognized by the [House of Lords](#) and by the award of a C.B.

²⁰⁸ Rose is mentioned only once in Blunt’s versions of his narrative. His high-level activities before, during and after the Crimean War - prompt this description.

At the end of 1848, he left Syria when [Lord Palmerston](#) appointed him Secretary of the embassy at Constantinople in January 1851. In the following year, he was [Chargé-d’Affaires](#) (in the absence of Sir Stratford Canning) during the crisis of the question of the ‘holy places,’ and was involved in the blocking of Russian efforts to impose a coercive treaty upon Turkey. During the war with Russia in 1854-56, Rose was Queen’s Commissioner at the headquarters of the French army, with the local rank of Brigadier-General. At [Varna](#), he aided in quenching a fire which threatened the French small-arm ammunition stores, and received the thanks of [Marshal St Arnaud](#), who recommended him for the [Legion of Honour](#). He was present at the [Battles of the Alma](#) and Balaklava. At [Inkerman](#), he reconnoitred the ground between the British and French armies under a withering fire from the Russian pickets. He distinguished himself on many occasions in maintaining verbal communication between the allied forces, and his tact and judgment contributed to the good feeling that existed between the two armies. His services were brought to notice by the Commanders-in-Chief of both armies, and he received the Medal with three clasps and the thanks of Parliament, was promoted to be Major-General, and was made [K.C.B.](#) and a Commander of the Legion of Honour.

Rose proved himself an excellent field general during the [Indian Mutiny](#) and succeeded Lord Clyde (formerly Sir Colin Campbell) as Commander-in-Chief in India. He was created [K.C.S.I.](#) in 1861 and [G.C.S.I.](#) on the enlargement of the order. He was raised to the peerage in 1866 as Baron Strathnairn of Strathnairn and Jhansi and was promoted to General in 1867. He was gazetted to the Colonelcy of the Royal Horse Guards in 1869, and further promoted to Field Marshal in June 1877. He died in Paris on the 16th of October, 1885, and was buried in the graveyard of the Priory Church, Christchurch, Hampshire. An equestrian bronze statue was erected to his memory at [Knightsbridge](#), London. He never married. [Sir Owen Tudor Berne, ‘Clyde and Strathnairn’, *‘Rulers of India Series’*, 1891; *Wikipedia*]

Rustem Pasha : [pp 22-24, 29, 45, 54-56, 100, 104]

Liva (Major General) Rustem Pasha was the commander of the Turkish Contingent involved in the battle of Balaklava. This person may not have been the well-known Rustem Pasha (1810-1895), born Chimeli de Marini of Italian parents, who served with the Turkish government and died on 20th November 1895 during his placement as the Turkish ambassador in London. [*Annual Register* 1895, p 211]. His obituary (*‘The Times’*, November 21st, 1895) makes no mention of any military service.

Reports in *‘The Times’* suggest that another man of that name may have survived Balaklava and then have transferred to Eupatoria with Omar Pasha, only to die in the battle of Eupatoria on 17 February, 1855. On 4 November, 1854, private letters dated 19 October stated that ‘Soliman Pasha, commander of the Turkish division in the Crimea, has been obliged by ill health to pass some time at Constantinople. He is succeeded *par interim* by Rustem Pasha.’²⁰⁹ On March 2, 1855, the French Vice-Admiral Bruat, reporting the battle of Eupatoria in a letter dated 20 February, stated that ‘The Russians were vigorously repulsed. Their loss is estimated at 500 killed, and the wounded in proportion. The Turks had 88 men killed, and 250 wounded. They lost 70 horses. Selim Pasha, General of the Egyptian Division, and Colonel Rustem Bey were killed.’ On 9 March, 1855, General Canrobert’s report, dated 19 February, stated that ‘Meanwhile the cannonade continued along the whole line. The fire of the enemy was chiefly concentrated on the hill ‘so-called, of the Mills,’ where the Egyptian General of Division

²⁰⁹ This suggests that Rustem Pasha (or Bey) was only the temporary commander on 25th October, 1854.

Selim Pasha, and the Egyptian Colonel Rustem Bey were killed, nobly fulfilling their duty.’

Sandwith, Dr Humphry : [pp 7, 87]

Humphry (a.k.a. Humphrey) Sandwith (1822-1881) was a resident in Constantinople on the outbreak of the war. He served with the Turkish Army on the Danube in 1853 and was appointed in June 1854 to serve under Colonel Beatson and then, as the only British medical officer, under Brigadier-General Williams at the siege of Kars. He later wrote ‘*A Narrative of the Siege of Kars. And of the Six Months’ Resistance by the Turkish Garrison, under General Williams, to the Russian Army: together with a Narrative of Travels and Adventures in Armenia and Lazistan; with Remarks on the Present State of Turkey.*’, John Murray, London, 1856. He was subsequently attached to the Earl of Granville’s embassy to Russia in July 1856. [‘*Foreign Office List*’ 1865, p 143; See also Shepherd ii, p 648; Ward, T. H. (1884) ‘*Memoir of Humphry Sandwith*’]

Humphry Sandwith qualified in 1846 from St Bartholomew’s Hospital, and in 1847 was a house surgeon at Hull Infirmary. Having set up in practice in London without success, he went out to Constantinople in 1849 with letters of introduction to the British Ambassador. He met Layard, the explorer and archaeologist, and accompanied him on expeditions to Mesopotamia. He established himself in practice by his contacts with the Embassy, to which he was unofficially physician, and in 1853 he became a correspondent to ‘*The Times*’. In July 1854 Sandwith was appointed to serve in Varna with a force of bashi-bazouks under General Beatson, in the capacity of both interpreter and medical officer. There he established a primitive hospital, and being short of medicines, he prepared these himself from herbs collected in the countryside. When Beatson’s force was disbanded, Sandwith went to Erzerum to serve under General Williams (H.M. Commissioner with the Turkish Army in Asia). His experiences during the siege of Kars are described in his book. After General Williams had capitulated, Sandwith was given his unconditional liberty by General Muravieff in recognition of the services which he had rendered to the Russian wounded, and immediately proceeded to London, where he was received as a hero and the publication of his narrative of the siege gained him considerable fame. In June 1856 he was in Russia as physician to the British Ambassador at the time of the coronation of Alexander II. In 1857 he went out to Mauritius as colonial secretary, but three years later had to resign his post because of ill-health. He now became deeply involved in politics, particularly the Eastern question. He visited Serbia and Turkey and in both countries was seen as a powerful supporter of national interests. Among the many humanitarian causes in which he became involved were the National Aid Society (a charity to help the victims of the Franco-Prussian War, when he employed himself in ambulance service) and the care of the sick and wounded in the Serbo-Turkish War. He stood for Parliament in 1868 but was not elected. His influence on foreign affairs seems to have been appreciable although exerted from behind the scenes. He was able to go again to the East on hospital duty during the Russo-Turkish war. He was elected F.R.C.P. in 1859 but did not practice medicine thereafter.

Saunders, Sydney Smith (Consul at Ioannina) : [pp 59-60]

There is no reference to Sydney Smith Saunders being involved in the Crimean campaign.

Scarlett, General the Hon. (later Sir) James Yorke : [pp 10, 25-26, 77, 102, 108-109]

James Yorke Scarlett (1799-1871) was the second son of the 1st Baron Abinger. Educated at Eton and Trinity College, Cambridge, he entered the army as a cornet in 1818, and in 1830 became a Major in the 5th Dragoon Guards. From 1836 until 1841, he was the

Conservative member of Parliament for Guildford. In 1840 he obtained the command of his regiment, which he held for nearly fourteen years. In the Crimean War the 5th Dragoon Guards formed part of the Heavy Cavalry Brigade (of which Scarlett was appointed brigadier). The brigade was sent to the Black Sea in 1854, and suffered very heavily from cholera in the camps of Varna. Scarlett underwent his baptism of fire before Sevastopol. On 25 October 1854, during the battle of Balaklava, the Heavy Brigade achieved magnificent success against the Russian cavalry. For his services on that day, Scarlett was promoted Major-General and, in 1855, he was made K.C.B. After a short absence in England, he returned to the Crimea, with the local rank of Lieutenant-General, to command the British cavalry. After the Peace of Paris, Sir James Scarlett commanded the cavalry at Aldershot until 1860, and was Adjutant-General of the army from 1860 to 1865. In the latter year he became commander of the Aldershot Camp, a post which he held until his retirement in 1870. In 1869 he had been made G.C.B. [*1911Encyclopedia*]

Servantes, William Fraser George : [p 45]

A commissariat clerk who served with the Heavy Cavalry Brigade. Awarded the British Crimea Medal with clasps for Balaklava, Inkerman and Sevastopol. [Hart's *'Army List'* 1857, p 500; Appointed D.A.C.G. on 2 January, 1856]

Slade, J. S. (A.D.A.C.G.) : [p 45]

J. S. Slade was an acting deputy assistant commissary General who arrived in the Crimea on 1 October 1855 and departed to Scutari with the Cavalry Division on 13 November 1855. [Parliamentary Papers 1857 Session I, Vol. 9]

Somerset, Poulett George Henry (A.D.C.) : [pp 37-38]

Lieutenant-Colonel Poulett Somerset (1822-1875): 7th Regiment of Foot (Royal Fusiliers), late of the Coldstream Guards. He served in the Eastern campaign of 1854, as Aide-de-Camp to Lord Raglan, including the battles of Alma, Balaklava, and Inkerman, and siege of Sebastopol.

Stanley, Hon. Henry (Secretary of Legation, Athens; sometime Attaché at Constantinople) : [pp 57, 61-62]

Sir Henry Edward John Stanley (1827-1903) was the eldest son of the second baron and succeeded as 3rd Baron of Alderley and Eddisbury in 1869. He held several diplomatic appointments including secretary to the special mission in the Danubian Provinces 1856-8. [Burke's *'Peerage and Baronetage'* 1876]. It is probable that Henry Stanley was a practicing Muslim for much of his life. He married Fabia, daughter of Don Santiago Frederico San Roman, of Seville, but had no issue. In later years, he went through several (bigamous) forms of marriage according to Muslim rites in Algeria and Constantinople. In 1903, he was buried at Alderley, according to Muslim rites conducted by Ridjag Efendi, the imam of the Turkish embassy. [DNB]

Steele, Colonel Thomas Montagu : [pp 8-9]

Lieutenant-Colonel Thomas Montagu Steele (1821-1890), Coldstream Guards, was the military secretary on the British Headquarters staff and a close confidant of Lord Raglan. He arrived in the Crimea in September 1854 and left for England to join the 2nd Battalion, Coldstream Guards on 27 November 1855. [Parliamentary Papers 1857 Session I, Vol. 9]. Lord Raglan was impressed with him, since he wrote to his daughter Charlotte soon after arriving in Turkey telling her that 'I never saw a finer fellow than Steele.'

[J. Sweetman, *‘Raglan: From the Peninsula to the Crimea’*, Arms and Armour, London, 1993, p 187]

After the war he commanded at Aldershot (1875-80) and was C.-in-C. in Ireland (1880-5). He became Colonel of the Coldstream Guards in 1885 and died at Frimley Park on 25 February 1890, aged 69. The son of Major-General Thomas Steele of Guilsborough, Northants, he married first (1856) Isabella Fitzgerald and second (1865) Rosalie Malvinia, daughter of the Comtesse de Dion and Thomas McCarty, Esq., of New York. [*‘Annual Register’* 1890, p 148]

Stratford de Redcliffe, Lord : [pp 8-9, 49, 56, 58, 61, 63, 65, 69, 76, 83, 84, 87]

Stratford Canning, Viscount Stratford de Redcliffe (1786-1880). A prominent and very experienced diplomat, he was the first cousin of [George Canning](#), British Prime Minister (1827). Stratford Canning was the British Ambassador at Constantinople (1842-58) and was known as *‘Büyük Elçi’* (The Great Ambassador), for his strong influence on the Sublime Porte and for his (largely unsuccessful) efforts to induce the Turkish government to accept reform (see entry on Sultan Abdul-Medjid I, below). He was deeply involved in the international negotiations before, during and after the Crimean War. [*wikipedia*]

Stuart, Major Robert (Staff at Kars and Consular Service) : [pp 64-65]

Robert Stuart sold out of the Army in July 1852 but was ordered to join Brigadier-General Williams’s staff with local rank of Major. Major Stuart did not, in fact, serve on the staff of Brigadier-General Williams during the siege of Kars. Rather, he was the senior British officer in Erzerum who, with Consul James Brant, repeatedly, but unsuccessfully, urged Selim Pasha to advance his army to effect the relief of Kars. [T. Coates [Ed.], *‘The Siege of Kars 1855’*, Stationary Office, London, 2000, p 188 *et seq.*] In the event, Selim Pasha and his force landed at Trebizond on 22 October 1855 and advanced no further than Erzerum. In his *‘A Narrative of the Siege of Kars.’* [John Murray, London, 1856, p 301] Humphry Sandwith quoted (on 22 November 1855) a note from Mr Brant as follows: ‘Selim Pasha won’t advance although Major Stuart is doing his utmost to make him. Omer Pasha has not advanced far from Soukhum Kale. I fear you have no hope but in yourselves; you can depend on no hope in this quarter.’ After the fall of Kars, Major Stuart remained in Erzerum as senior British officer until the end of the war. He was Vice-Consul at Volo from February 1858 and Consul at Janina Jube in 1861. [*‘Foreign Office List’* 1865, p 150]

Sultan Abdul-Medjid I : [pp 65, 67, 82, 113]

Born in 1823, he was the Sultan of the Ottoman Empire from 1839 to 1861. During his reign, he was responsible for carrying out several reforms to improve the lives of his subjects. Influenced by Lord Stratford de Redcliffe (see above), he enacted provisions that all classes of the his subjects should have security for their lives and property; that taxes should be fairly imposed and justice impartially administered; and that all would have full religious liberty and equal civil rights. These provisions, however, were opposed by the governing classes and the *‘Ulema’* (privileged religious teachers) and were not put fully into force. He was succeeded by his brother [Abdul-Aziz](#) in 1861.

Suter, Henry (Consul, Kaïssariah and Chief Interpreter at British H.Q., Crimea) : [pp 10, 19, 60, 64]

He was the Principal First Class Interpreter to the Q.M.G.’s department from May 1854. He served throughout the war and was awarded the Crimea medal with 4 clasps. He was appointed Chief Interpreter to the Army in the East on 17 November, 1855, and left the Crimea on 12 July, 1856. He was Consul at Varna in February 1858 and Vice-Consul at Larissa in April 1858. He died in May, 1864.

[‘*Annual Register*’ 1858, p 471; ‘*Foreign Office List*’ 1865, p 162]

Toms, Colonel F. R. B. (RGA) : [pp 107, 110]

Commanded the Royal Garrison Artillery in Malta on October 13, 1908, when Sir John Blunt gave his lecture on the Battle of Balaklava (see Appendices J4 and J5, above). Colonel Toms gave perhaps the best analysis of the errors which led to the Charge of the Light Brigade when he proposed a vote of thanks to the Lecturer, and incidentally remarked: ‘*Staff Officers, take note. Deliver your messages properly!*’

Turrell, Mr (Sir George Brown’s Interpreter) : [pp 42-43]

No information available. His name may have been ‘Tyrell’.

Veigh, John : [pp 26, 102, 109]

598 Private John Vahey was a regimental butcher in the 17th Lancers, who enlisted in 1838 or 1839. His full C.V. is given in L. W. Crider, ‘*In Search of the Light Brigade*’, Eurocommunica, Barnham, 2004, p 378. My analysis of the sources strongly suggests that only one regimental butcher, John Vahey, charged on that day. It appears that he formed up with the Royals (Heavy Brigade) and began the cavalry advance with them but was told to join his regiment. He moved ahead at speed and did so. He survived the charge of the Light Brigade, killing perhaps six Russians and earning himself a D.C.M. His account of the charge (also in Crider) is entertaining and ‘highly coloured’, but may contain some truth. He later served in India (Medal) and died of cholera on 3 August, 1860 at Secunderabad. He was buried in a common grave which he himself had dug.

Walker, Captain Charles Pynder Beauchamp : [pp 9, 48, 106]

Captain Walker (1817-1894) was First ADC to Lord Lucan in the Crimea and was awarded the Crimean medal with all four clasps. He served as a volunteer on HMS ‘*Bellerophon*’ during the bombardment of 17 November 1854. He served in India in 1859 at Secora and the Jerwah Pass (Medal). In later life he was made K.C.B. and wrote ‘*Days of a soldier’s life. Being letters written...during active service in the Crimean, Chinese, Austro-Prussian (66) and Franco-German (70-71) Wars*’, Chapman and Hall, London, 1894. [Hart’s ‘*Army List*’ 1854, p 127: 7th Dragoon Guards; Hart’s ‘*Army List*’ 1857, p 66; Hart’s ‘*Army List*’ 1860, p 130: 2nd Dragoon Guards.]

Yonge, Reginald (RN) : [pp 5, 34-35, 112]

Commander Reginald Freeland Yonge, R.N., was a friend of Sir John Blunt on Malta. In a letter to Sir John, dated 5 February, 1910 (see *Appendix 3 to Blunt’s ‘Chapter 6’*, above), he stated that he knew some of those who took part in both charges at Balaklava and that he went over the ground in 1869, when the Prince and Princess of Wales toured the East and visited the Crimea in mid April, 1869, aboard HMS ‘*Ariadne*’.

Zeinel Pasha : [pp 57, 61-62]

An Ottoman government official, who was a native of Epirus and belonged to one of the clans of the Tosk Albanians. He spoke Greek better than Turkish, and had some influence in his country as well as in Thessaly, where he held the appointment of *Derbent Agha*. He was therefore the commander of the irregular troops, all Muslim Albanians, who were employed in guarding the ‘*Derbents*’ (Mountain passes) and in assisting the levying of tolls on all goods, native or foreign, carried over them. He was very corrupt and was

addicted to abnormal and licentious practices. About 1860, he was publicly tried and found guilty of embezzlement of public money and of corrupt and tyrannical malpractices. He was deprived of his titles, dismissed from government service, and sent to prison.

J.

APPENDICES.

Appendix J1: Obituary of Sir John Elijah Blunt and Statement of Services

‘The Daily Malta Chronicle’

June 22nd, 1916

THE LATE SIR JOHN BLUNT

The last earthly tribute of respect to the memory of the late Sir John Blunt Kt., C.B., H.B.M. Consular Service (retired), who died on Sunday morning at his residence, Strada Nuova, Floriana, after some years of failing health, was paid on Monday evening when, as already announced, the remains were laid to rest in the *Ta’ Braxia* Cemetery, where the quiet Service, expressly desired by the deceased gentleman during the closing hours of a long and useful life, was of a very impressive character.

Leaving the house at 4.45 p.m., the cortege arrived shortly after at the *Ta Braxia* cemetery where the coffin was unhearsed and received at the gate by the Revd. E. Edmonds-Smith, M.A., S.C.F., who led the procession down the avenue reading the funeral Service.

The pall bearers were : Sir Richard Micallef, M. Milon de Peillon, Consul for France : Mr. Justin Alvares, H.B.M. Consul General (retired) Mr. Thomas Smith, Consul for Spain.

Lady Blunt, who was greatly distressed, followed the coffin, supported by Miss Garnett and Miss Paulucci, residing with her ladyship. On the coffin were placed the cocked-hat and sword of the deceased.

His Excellency the Governor was represented by Captain the Contino Castelletti, Colonial A.D.C, Naval Secretary Stack representing the Senior Naval Officer. General Hunter Blair and a number of Naval and Military officers formed part of the cortege, among others present being : Mdme. Milon de Peillon and Judge Parnis, Mrs. T. C. Smith, Mr. and Mrs. Hare, Mrs. Cecil G. Wood, Miss Kyprêos, Miss Eryphale Kyprêos, Mr. Tsorbazoglow, Vice Consul for Greece, Dr. Zanghi, Mr. Leontis, Mr. and Mrs. Picramenos, Major Monreal, Mr. Page etc.

Lieut. A. C. M. Bennett R.N. carried a velvet cushion on which were placed the numerous medals and decorations of the deceased.

After a short Service in the Chapel, the coffin was borne to the grave-side where the ceremony of interment was performed, the prayers being very impressively recited by the Chaplain. Deep sympathy was shared with Lady Blunt as she moved off with the company manifestly moved to inconsolable grief at the irreparable loss she had sustained.

Notwithstanding that flowers were dispensed with in compliance with the request of the deceased, very handsome wreaths suitably inscribed were sent by His Excellency the Governor, Mrs. Cecil G. Wood, Mr. Justin Alvarez, H B.M. Consul General (retired) - ‘A small token of affection and loyalty to my old Chief,’ Mr. Costantin Kyprêos, Consul for Greece and family, Mr. Tsorbazoglour Vice-Consul for Greece, Dr. Zanghi, Mr. D. G. Leontis, Mr. Ch. Picramenos, Junior N.C.O.’s. R.E.

Sir John Elijah Blunt was born on the 14th October 1832 at Adrianople. He was the son of Mr. Charles Blunt, late H.M. Consul at Smyrna and Caroline daughter of Mr. A. Vitalis, late H.M. Consul at Tinos. He entered His Majesty’s Consular Service in 1850. Married in 1856 Fanny Janet daughter of Mr. Donald Sandison Consul at Broussa.

The personality of Sir John Blunt was so familiar among us, that of his death it may well be said, a void is left which will be felt by all classes of the community among whom he was extremely popular and respected, not only on account of his social position and the eminent services he had rendered to the Crown, but also for his genial disposition, and ready willingness to participate in every worthy work having for object the welfare of the island and people he loved so well. He delighted in making others happy, and his kindness and charity were dispensed with liberality enriched by absence of ostentation. He wielded the pen of a ready writer, and it has been from time to time the proud privilege of The Daily Malta Chronicle to reproduce some of the most stirring incidents in his distinguished career. For Sir John Blunt was not only a Consul in the sense that he was the representative of the Crown under the respective governments to which he was accredited. He had come of a Consular Stock, so to speak, and was already equipped with the essential qualifications for the duties and responsibilities of his high office to which he rapidly added the highest reputation as a diplomat, a linguist and a distinguished soldier, as amply testified in his remarkable career.

STATEMENT OF SERVICES
of
Sir John E. Blunt, Kt., C.B.

Was twice Acting Vice-Consul at Mytilene, in the Consular District of Rhodes, Turkey. Was Acting Consul at Rhodes from January till April, 1854. Served as Chief Interpreter to the Cavalry Division in the Crimea under the Earl of Lucan, from April, 1854, till March, 1855²¹⁰. Obtained the Crimean Medal and Clasps for Alma, Balaclava and Inkerman, as well as the Turkish Medal for services in the Crimea.²¹¹ Was appointed Vice-Consul at Volo, March 8, 1855. Acted as Agent at Volo for Her Majesty's Land Transport Corps during 1855 and 1856. Was transferred to Uscup, March 31, 1857. Was Acting Consul at Monastir from November 10, 1857, till November 5, 1858. Was employed on service in Bulgaria during May, June and July, 1859. Was Acting Consul at Monastir from May 15 to 26, 1860. Was again employed on service in Bulgaria and North Albania from June 10 till September 18, 1860. Accompanied the Grand Vizier, Kibrizli Mehmed Pasha, from Nish to Uscup, on his tour of inspection in European Turkey, in 1860. Was afterwards employed on special service in the Province of Philippopolis, till December 18, 1860, when the Vice-Consulate was removed thither. The Vice-Consulate was established at Adrianople March 13, 1862; and Mr. Blunt was appointed Her Majesty's Vice Consul there, November 7, 1862. Was employed at Adrianople and Philippopolis from July 3 till October 11, 1862, in investigating the circumstances attending the murder of an American Missionary, for which services he received the thanks of the President of the United States and was nominated American Consul in Roumelia, but which appointment he was not permitted to accept. Was Acting Consul-General at Belgrade from November 6, 1864, till July 1, 1865; was employed at Eski-Zaghra from December 4, 1867, till January 5, 1868, in investigating an outrage on American citizens for which services he received the thanks of the President of the United States. Was promoted to be Consul at Monastir, Turkey, February 13, 1872, and was

²¹⁰ Blunt served until February, 1855.

²¹¹ Sir John was also entitled to the Sebastopol clasp to the British Crimean Medal.

appointed Consul for Salonica and Monastir and the districts included in those vilayets²¹², August 6, 1872 ; and Consul for the vilayets of Salonica and Prisrend and the Sandjack²¹³ of Thessaly August 20, 1872; was Acting French Vice-Consul at Monastir from June 1 till September 26, 1872, and Acting German Consul at Salonica from August till November 1873; was summoned to Constantinople during the Conference, held in December, 1876, and January, 1877; was appointed also (temporarily) Consul at Adrianople March 27, 1877. Was sent to Volo in April, 1878, to investigate the circumstances attending the death of Mr. Ogle and was afterwards employed on Special Service in Thessaly. Was made C.B., August 30, 1878. Was promoted to be Consul-General for the vilayets of Salonica and Prisrend and the Sandjack of Thessaly, to reside at Salonica March 28, 1879; was appointed Consul-General for the vilayets of Salonica, Epirus, Monastir, and Cossova, and for the Sandjack of Thessaly; November 12, 1879; and Consul-General for the vilayets of Salonica, Monastir, Janina, and Cossova, and for the Mustakil²¹⁴ of Serwidché (Service), October 6, 1884. Received the thanks of the Sultan and the Silver Medal of the Nisham-i-Imtiaz for assistance rendered during the fire at Salonica in September, 1890. Received the Jubilee Medal 1897. Received from the Sultan Gold Medal of the Imtiaz for services in connection with the Greco-Turkish War 1897. Appointed Consul for the States of Massachussets, Vermont, New Hampshire and Maine, to reside at Boston, April, 8, 1899; but permitted to retain the personal rank of Consul-General. Retired on a pension October 1, 1902. Received the honour of knighthood November 9, 1902.

It will be seen from the above summary of the services rendered by Sir John Blunt, that since the year 1850 he has been actively and almost unremittingly engaged in the Consular and Diplomatic Services through which he had acquired recognition among the foremost authorities upon questions connected with the Near East and Russia. On his retirement he came to Malta together with Lady Blunt, where they made their home and associations, being from that time closely connected with the social life of the island. Sir John Blunt used to say that his sojourn in Malta was among the happiest periods of his life, except for the heavy bereavement sustained by Lady Blunt and himself in the death of their dearly loved son.²¹⁵

²¹² A ‘Vilayet’ (Turkish: vilâyet) is an administrative division, usually translated as ‘province.’ The word derives from the Arabic waliyah, meaning ‘to administer.’

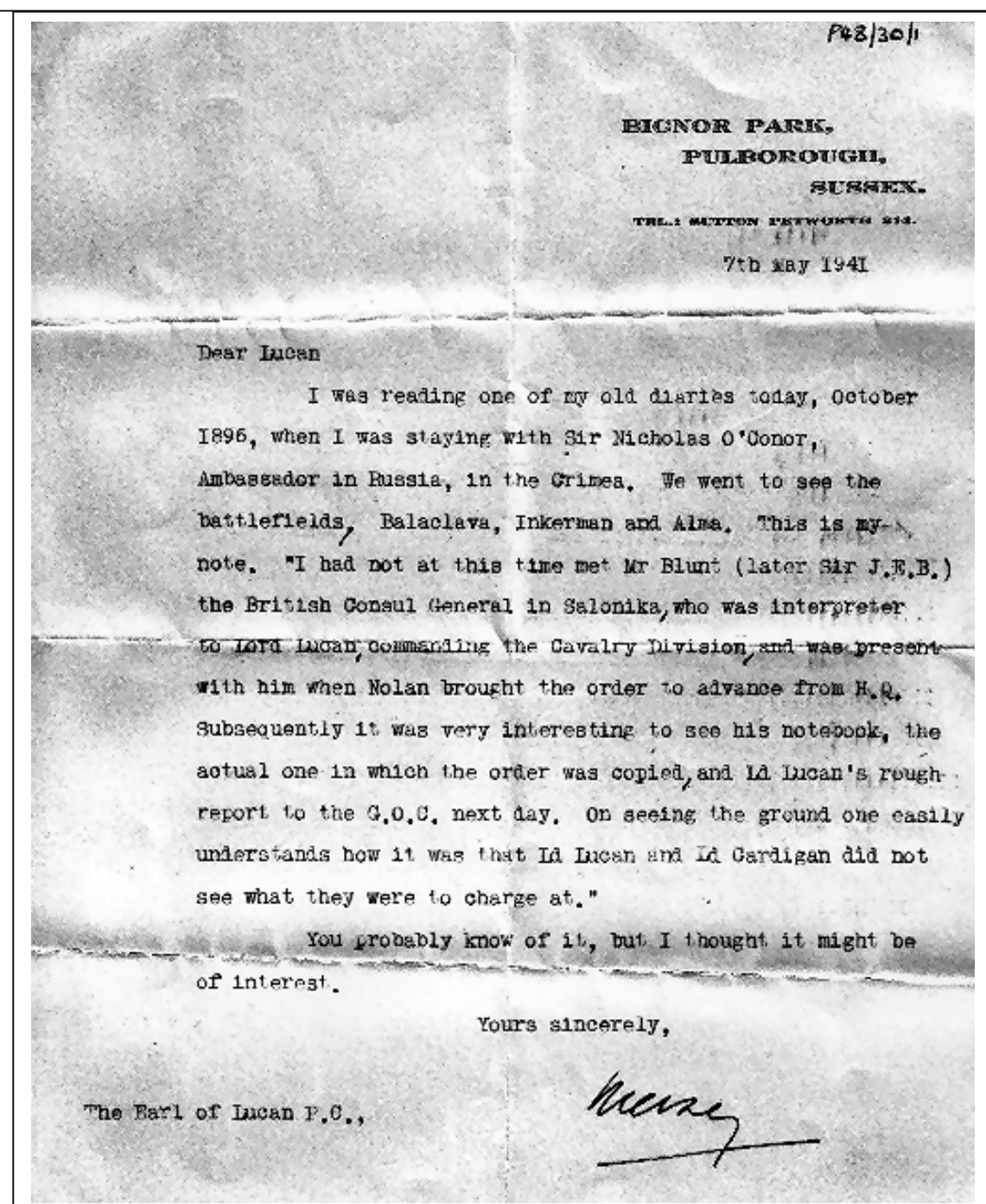
²¹³ ‘Sanjak’ and ‘Sandjak’ are the most common English transliterations of the Turkish word ‘Sancak’, which literally means ‘banner’. They were the sub-divisions of the Ottoman provinces referred to as ‘vilayet’, ‘eyalet’ or ‘pashaluk’.

²¹⁴ ‘Müstakil’ : an autonomous or self-governing district of the Ottoman Empire.

²¹⁵ From Lady Fanny Blunt’s book ‘*My Reminiscences*’, John Murray, London, 1918, it is clear that Captain Osmond Donald Blunt eventually suffered from chronic illness and lived with his parents in Malta from 1902 until his death in 1915. (See ‘*Brief Biographies*’).

Appendix J2: Lord Mersey's letter to George Charles Bingham, 5th Earl of Lucan : Re: Sir John Blunt's Crimean War Notebook

(Reproduced, with permission, from the James Hardiman Library of the National University of Ireland (Galway).)



I particularly note the penultimate sentence 'On seeing the ground one easily understands how it was that Ld Lucan and Ld Cardigan did not see what they were to charge at.' Some later authors have given quite contrary impressions of the sight-lines from the Light Brigade start-point. Can the land-forms have changed so much?

Appendix J3: ‘The Daily Malta Chronicle’: 25th October, 1904

‘The Daily Malta Chronicle’

Tuesday, 25th October, 1904
Sunset to-day 5h. 13m. 33s

FIFTY YEARS AGO
A GLORIOUS ANNIVERSARY

When can their glory fade?
O! the wild charge they made!
All the world wonder’d.
Honour the charge they made!
Honour the Light Brigade,
Noble Six Hundred!

Lord Tennyson

Exactly fifty completed years ago the battle of Balaklava was fought. And, if there are still a few who took an active part in it and still survive to speak of it, it must nevertheless be true that they have nearly all passed away. Nearly all, but not all! One who witnessed the gallant ride of the Light Brigade in to the Valley of death; one who saw Captain Nolan deliver Lord Raglan’s famous written order into the hands of Lord Lucan; one who heard the fiery aide-de-camp’s impatient reply to the commander of the Cavalry Division, when he asked, with assuredly no lack of readiness or courage, but with the comprehension of the impossibility of the accomplishment of the task which appeared to be imposed upon him and his men, where the enemy was and where the guns were; one who saw the demigods of war ride back a shattered remnant of the brigade they were; one such is actually amongst us.

When Russia seemed to have fixed covetous eyes upon Turkey and Constantinople, England and France declared war against her. Sebastopol, the great southern arsenal of the Tsar, safe, it was thought, in the peninsula of the Crimea, was besieged. One incident in the siege was the battle of Balaklava fought on the 25th of October 1854. The Russians were defeated.²¹⁶

Victory was in no way to be ascribed to the effect produced by the immortal charge of the Light Brigade. And, nevertheless, no Englishman can think of the battle of Balaklava without recalling vividly to his mind the famous charge which Tennyson saw with as much distinctness by his rare poetical vision as he could have done, had he beheld with his eyes the heroes set their teeth, bend forward in their saddles, tighten the reins of their snorting war steeds, couch their lances and hurl themselves, clattering fearlessly forward – a light brigade! - against the batteries of the enemy in position; and which he immortalised. Forward the Light Brigade! Oh what a ride! No wonder that the soldiers of both hosts paused, amazed – all that saw them and that could let the work of destruction stand still a moment.

²¹⁶ The Russians cannot be said to have been entirely defeated at Balaklava. Their casualties were lower, they lost no guns, and they retained command of the field at the end of the day. They were certainly beaten away from the British supply port and it was therefore a moral victory for the Allies, especially as regards the superiority of the British cavalry. The Light Brigade was, however, ruined as a striking force.

On they tore through the valley to the batteries beyond. ‘Was there a man dismayed?’ No! Nor even had they cared to ask how ‘some one had blundered.’ On, in amongst the guns which had vomited death upon them in their course they crashed: and they took them. Then, there being nothing more for them to do, they rode back through the valley, now a valley of darker death than they had before fearlessly found it. They plunged on their way right into a regiment of Russian cavalry which was sent to intercept them, they cut a passage through it, and the Light Brigade, or what gloriously remained of it, got back to its position!²¹⁷

Captain Nolan had fallen dead with many other officers and the long list of men who could no longer answer at the roll-call. But the Light Brigade at Balaklava and its Titanic struggle of victory achieved will never be forgotten.

The Russian defeats at the Alma, Balaklava, and Inkerman brought the downfall of Sebastopol²¹⁸. The Crimean war languished to an end.

We are enabled to give our readers the following copy of Lieut. General the Right Honble. The Earl of Lucan’s Report, relative to the charge of the Light Brigade. Lord Lucan commanded the Cavalry Division in the Crimea.

Copy Balaklava, Nov. 30, 1854
My Lord,

In your Lordship’s report of the Cavalry action Balaklava on the 25th ultimo given in the papers which have just arrived from England, you observe that from some misconception of the instruction to advance, the Lieut. General considered that he was bound to attack at all hazards and he accordingly ordered Lord Cardigan to move forward with the Light Brigade.

Surely, my Lord, this is a grave charge, and an imputation reflecting seriously on my professional character. I cannot remain silent. I feel it incumbent on me to state those facts which I cannot doubt must clear me from what I respectfully submit is altogether unmerited.

The Cavalry was formed to support an intended movement of the Infantry when Captain Nolan A.D.C. of the Quarter Master General came up to me at speed and placed in my hands this written instruction:

Copy
‘Lord Raglan wishes the Cavalry to advance rapidly to the front follow the Enemy and try to prevent the Enemy carrying away the guns. Troop of Horse Artillery may accompany. French Cavalry is on your left.’

Signed A. Airie²¹⁹

‘Immediate’

After carefully reading this order, I hesitated and urged the uselessness of such an attack, and the dangers attending it. The Aide de Camp in a most authoritative tone stated, that they were Lord Raglan’s orders that the Cavalry should attack immediately. I asked: ‘where and what to do’ ‘as neither enemy nor guns were within sight.’ He replied in a

²¹⁷ Less flamboyantly stated, ‘The remnants of the Light Brigade returned.’

²¹⁸ Incorrect. The Alma cleared the way south to Sebastopol, Balaklava prevented the loss of the British supply port and Inkerman beat off a very strong attempt to destroy the British Army before the city. None directly caused the ‘downfall of Sebastopol’, which was achieved by the French capture of the Malakhov.

²¹⁹ Correctly ‘R. Airey’. Sir John and his typist had repeated problems with this name.

disrespectful and significant manner, pointing to the further end of the Valley, ‘There My Lord is *your enemy* (sic) and there are your guns.’

So distinct in my opinion was your written instruction, and so positive and urgent were the orders delivered by the A.D.C. that I felt it was imperative on me to obey, and I informed Lord Cardigan that he was to advance, and to the objections he made and in which I entirely agreed I replied that the order was from your Lordship. Having decided, against my conviction, to make the movement, I did all in my power to render it as little perilous as possible. I formed the Brigade in two lines and led to its support two Regiments of Heavy Cavalry, the Scots Greys and the Royals and only halted them when they had reached the point from which they could protect the retreat of the Light Cavalry in the event of their being pursued by the enemy, and when, having already lost many officers and men by the fire from the batteries and fort²²⁰, further advance would have exposed them to destruction.

My Lord, I considered at the time, I am still of the same opinion, that I followed the only course open to me. As Lieutenant General doubtless I have discretionary power, but to take upon myself to disobey an order written by my Commander in Chief within a few minutes of its delivery, and given from an elevated position commanding an entire view of all the batteries and the position of the enemy, would have been nothing less than direct disobedience of orders without any reason than that I preferred my opinion to that of my General, and in this instance would have exposed me and the Cavalry to aspersions²²¹ against which it might have been difficult to have defended ourselves.

It should also be remembered that the A.D.C. well-informed of the intentions of his general and the objects he had in view after first insisting on our immediate charge then placed himself in front of one of the leading squadrons when he fell the first victim.

I did not dare to disobey your Lordship, and it is the opinion of every officer of rank in this army, to whom I have shown your instruction, that it was not possible for me to do so²²². I hope, my Lord, that I have stated the facts temperately and in a becoming and respectful manner as it has been my wish to do. I am confident that it will be your desire to do me justice. I will only ask that your Lordship should kindly give the same publicity to this letter that has been given to your report, as I am sensitively anxious to satisfy my Sovereign, my military superiors and the public that I have not on this unhappy occasion shewn myself undeserving of their confidence or unfitting the command which I hold²²³.

I have etc.

Signed. LUCAN,

Lt.-General Commanding Cavalry Division

²²⁰ The Redoubts on the Causeway Heights were sometimes described as ‘Forts’. It may be that Redoubt 3 was intended here.

²²¹ Read ‘aspersions’.

²²² It can be argued that Lucan should have dared to disobey, because the order which he thought he had been given was, in his opinion, rash to the point of insanity. Lucan had the discretionary power to refuse to carry out the 4th Order - and to risk the inevitable court martial. (Mike Hargreave Mawson, personal communication.)

²²³ A Lieutenant-General cannot rely upon the defence of ‘I was only following orders’. Lucan clearly did not trust his own judgement, and shied away from a difficult decision. (Mike Hargreave Mawson, personal communication.)

**Appendix J4: *Balaklava Lecture: 13th October, 1908 :*
*‘Blunt’s Corrected Narrative’***

[Blunt’s Corrected Narrative : Source: D-21]

A NARRATIVE OF OCCURRENCES WHICH I PERSONALLY WITNESSED AND
ASSISTED IN DURING THE BATTLE OF BALAKLAVA OCT 25. 1854

The Charge of the Light Brigade at Balaklava, Oct 25th 1854

The noble Six Hundred renowned in the History of Battles, and crowned with undying laurels:

‘Honor the brave and bold
long shall the tale be told,
Yea, when our babes are old,
How they rode onward!
When can their glory fade,
Oh! The wild charge they made
All the world wondered,
Honor the Light Brigade.
Noble Six Hundred.’

Lord Tennyson.

I beg leave to observe before reading to you the following narrative of my Balaklava reminiscences that I am fully conscious of the fact that I am laying myself open to the accusation of being egotistic. If in your estimation I have so laid myself open, I beg you to remember and take into consideration that I but experience that which all writers have to undergo who are guilty of writing their personal reminiscences. Two things are inevitable in this world: the first is Death, and the next the use and very frequently the misuse of the little and important word ‘I’.

sgd J.E. Blunt

The following extract is from Sir William Howard Russell’s letter to the ‘TIMES’ dated October 25th, 1854, and published November 14th. in that paper.

‘At 10.50 General Canrobert, attended by his staff, and Brigadier-General Rose²²⁴ [afterwards Field Marshal Baron Strathnairn], rode up to Lord Raglan, and the staffs of the two Generals and their escorts mingled together in praise of the magnificent charge of our cavalry [Heavy Brigade], while the chiefs apart conversed over the operations of the day, which promised to be one of battle. The Russian cavalry, followed by our shot, had retired in confusion, leaving the ground covered with horses and men. In carrying an order early in the day, Mr. Blunt, Lord Lucan’s interpreter, and son of our Consul in Macedonia and Thessaly, had a narrow escape. His horse was killed, he seized a Russian charger as it galloped past riderless, but the horse carried him almost into the Russian cavalry, and he only saved himself by leaping him into a redoubt among a number of frightened Turks who were praying to Allah on their bellies. I should mention here that the Turks who had been collected on the flanks of the 93d fled at the approach of the Russians without firing a shot!’

²²⁴ See ‘*Brief Biographies*’.

Having been requested to amplify the description of the personal incidents referred to in the above extract, I shall endeavour to do so as far as I am able and my remembrance of events which occurred more than fifty years ago will allow.

When our army occupied Balaklava, on or about the 26th of September, and chose it for its base of operations against Sebastopol, very few troops were detached for its protection. Brigadier-General Sir Colin Campbell was appointed Commandant of the place and had under his orders one Highland Regiment, some ship’s guns posted on the heights above the harbour, with a number of Marines to serve them, and four or five weak and ill-furnished Battalions of Turkish Militia under the command of Rustem Pasha. The cavalry Division, composed of two Brigades, numbering about 1600 sabres, with one battery of Horse Artillery, under the command of Lord Lucan, were encamped in the plain of Balaklava and not far from the village of Cadi-kioi.

Early in October both these generals reported to Head-Quarters that the position of Balaklava was exposed to imminent attacks by the enemy, who were concentrating in considerable numbers in the vicinity of the Tchernaya and Baidar Valley, and suggested that its garrison should be reinforced. As, at that time, there were not sufficient troops for that purpose, Lord Raglan ordered a series of small redoubts to be made on a range of hillocks that crossed the plain of Balaklava and divided it into two almost equal parts. These redoubts, six in number, were hastily and weakly constructed by Turkish troops under the personal direction of English Engineers. I went into most of them after they were made and, among other defects, I observed that their ditches were so low that a horse could have leaped over them. Only three of the six were armed; the one on Canroberts Hill (called No.1) by far the highest of the range, with 3 guns, and the two succeeding ones, No.2 and No.3, with two guns each, all ship’s Iron 12-pounders.²²⁵

Rustem Pasha, the Commander of the Turkish Contingent, after the Battle of Balaklava, told me that some of the ammunition supplied to these redoubts did not fit all of the guns! The three works, with No.4, were manned by about 1300 Turkish Militia from Asia Minor and Tunisia who, their officers declared to me, were mostly composed of *Esnan*, men who had never been under fire before or others who had never served previously! [*Esnan* : Young men who escape the conscription ballot and are liable to serve some 12 years in the Reserve (Rediffs.).²²⁶] Some 500 of these men garrisoned No. 1 Redoubt (Canroberts) and the remainder were distributed in Nos. 2, 3 and 4, almost in equal numbers.

Some days before the incidents I am about to relate occurred, spies, chiefly Tartars who were employed by the Liva (Major-General) Rustem Pasha, in command of the Turkish Contingent stationed in vicinity of Balaklava, kept him well informed of Russian movements in the Tchernaya Valley; one of them swore on the Koran that Russian troops were concentrating in large numbers in that Valley, and also behind the Tchorgoun heights, preparing for an early attack on Balaklava. This important information was communicated by the Pasha to Sir Colin Campbell and Lord Lucan, and by them to Head-Quarters by Lord Bingham on 24th October. Lord Bingham was the son of Lord Lucan and acted as 3d Aide-de-Camp.

It was too soon confirmed, for next morning (it was Wednesday if I remember correctly²²⁷) and shortly before sunrise²²⁸, while Lord Lucan with his staff was riding across the valley of Balaklava towards the redoubts on the hillocks above the Woronzoff

²²⁵ Major Colin Robins of the CWRS has shown that these were not ship’s guns, but siege train artillery. Four of the six redoubts were armed and Redoubt No. 4 held three of them.

²²⁶ See ‘Appendix 1 to ‘Blunt’s Chapter 6’ (above) for further details on these ‘*Esnan*’ troops.

²²⁷ Sir John is correct.

road, the redoubt No.1 on ‘Canroberts’ hill – the highest of the range – which was armed with 3 guns and occupied by about 600 Turkish Rediffs (Militia) - suddenly opened fire, which was returned by the Russian batteries posted in the vicinity of the village of Kamara behind that hill. Lord Lucan, after consulting with Sir Colin Campbell, who was also on the spot, sent an Aide-de-Camp to inform Head-Quarters of the situation, and other members of his staff to direct both the Cavalry Brigades to turn out.

His Lordship with Sir Colin Campbell, followed by Captain Fellowes (acting as D.A.Q.M.G.) and myself, advanced to the foot of Canroberts hill, from where we discerned a large column of Russian infantry, some four thousand strong, climbing up the slopes of the hill to attack the redoubt, against which a rapid and fierce cannonading from the guns posted at Kamara was kept up. The Turks, although greatly outnumbered, made a good stand, and both Lord Lucan and Sir Colin Campbell manifested their approval; the former called out to me, ‘Blunt, those Turks are doing well’. But, having lost fully one-third of their number, and expecting no support, they retired leaving the three guns, their killed and a few prisoners, most of them wounded, in the enemy’s hands.²²⁹

Lord Lucan, on seeing the Turks streaming down the hill, sent me to direct them to form behind the Highlanders (93rd Regiment) posted near Cadi-kioi, a village in the immediate vicinity of Balaklava. Just as I started, Sir Colin Campbell, to whom I had been introduced shortly after the battle of the Alma, by Mr A. H. Layard M.P. (the late Sir Henry Layard, Ambassador at Constantinople), said to me ‘Take care, young man! Should anything happen to you, you’ll have no claim on the government!’

I rode after the retreating Turks and explained to their Bimbashi (Major) Lord Lucan’s message and, while doing so, some of his men, who appeared parched and exhausted, approached and saluted me. One of them, faint and bleeding from a wound in his breast, asked ‘Why no troops were sent to their support?’ Another declared that ‘The guns in their redoubt were too small and ill-equipped with ammunition.’ and, while a third complained that, during the last two days, they had nothing to eat but biscuit and very little water, his companion, with his head bandaged and holding a pipe half a yard long exclaimed ‘What can we do, Effendim? (Sir, literally my master); It is God’s will!’ The Major called these men away and I rode back to report to Lord Lucan.

In the meanwhile, and almost immediately after the Turks had retired from the above-named redoubt (No.1), those in redoubts Nos. 2, 3 and 4, numbering altogether about 1000 men, seeing large bodies of Russian Cavalry and Infantry advancing in their direction and expecting no support, made little or no defence; they abandoned them with their guns and fled towards Balaklava. As some stragglers from these redoubts were trudging along with their kits on their shoulders in the direction of the Heavy Brigade’s camp, I was sent by Lord Lucan to order them to go to Cadi-kioi. I had scarcely reached them when a Regiment of Russian Cavalry crossed the Woronzoff road into the plain and galloped towards Cadi-kioi, but their onward course was arrested; they were forced to retire by the resolute action of the Highlanders who, under the personal command of the bold-spirited Sir Colin Campbell, had been ordered to receive the enemy’s charge IN LINE! - ‘The memorable Thin Red Line’.

Shortly after, and while I was attending to the Turkish stragglers, I saw another and much larger body of the enemy’s Cavalry – estimated by some members of the staff at

²²⁸ I have calculated this as 07.13 (Universal Time + 3 hours) in my article ‘*Balaklava Timetable*’, *The War Correspondent*, Vol 22(3), 36-40, (2004).

²²⁹ The Turks in Redoubt 1 held out bravely, under heavy pressure, for ca. 1½ hours. They lost some 170 men killed out of 500, with no reported wounded.

between 2500 and 3000 men – suddenly appear on the crest of one of the hills above the Woronzoff road, and after forming into a dense column near No.5 redoubt (which was not garrisoned at the time)²³⁰ began descending towards the plain, evidently with the intention of attacking Balaklava – at least, that was my impression at the time.

The Regiments of the Heavy Brigade, under the personal command of Brigadier-General Scarlett, numbering scarcely 800 sabres, were then in close vicinity of their camp and within rifle shot of the advancing Russians. By Lord Lucan’s orders, they were at once formed up facing and ready to meet the Russian Cavalry coming down the hill. The Scots Greys and the Inniskillings under the gallant leadership of their general, advanced to meet them at the trot and, gradually increasing their pace, charged into and successfully cleared their way through the serried ranks of the enemy and, rapidly reforming, charged back while the squadrons of the Royals and of the 4th and 5th Dragoon Guards sustained the charge on each flank and, by their determined onslaught, largely contributed to the defeat of the Russians, who precipitately fled towards Canrobert’s Hill, leaving a considerable number of killed and wounded men and horses on the battlefield. The Russians had the advantage of numbers more than 3 to one – also of position in charging down the slope of the hill – while our men were mounted on better and bigger horses.

I was, I may add, in the immediate vicinity of this famous charge and it was with a throbbing heart, and mingled feelings of excitement and anxiety, that I watched what seemed to me an unequal fight, rendered all the more real by pistol and carbine shots – some of which whistled and whizzed over and by me – by the neighing of horses and clatter of their hoofs, the bugle and trumpet calls and the clash of swords; the howls of the Cossacks and the cheers of our men, whose scarlet jackets, it being in October and the sun shining brightly, formed a striking contrast to the grey and dark-coated enemy who surrounded them.

It was a glorious feat of arms: officers and men alike fought with indomitable spirit, but I little thought at the time that this dashing exploit was shortly to be overshadowed by the ever-memorable charge of the Light Brigade.

A droll incident occurred very shortly before the Heavies charged. While I was riding past the rear of the Inniskillings, who were forming to the right of the Scots Greys, I saw a staff officer – Captain Conolly²³¹, if I remember well (General Scarlett’s Brigade Major) – ride up to a trooper, call him out, and order him back to the camp as he was minus his tunic and had his shirt-sleeves tucked up to his shoulders. I was afterwards told by Captain Fellowes that this man, immediately the Major moved on, returned to his regiment in time to take a very active part in the charge! This doughty trooper served as the Inniskillings butcher!²³²

After witnessing with bated breath and thrilling sensations this brilliant charge, a sight never to be forgotten, I rode on to report to Lord Lucan and, on my way over part of the ground the enemy had crossed in its flight, some stragglers, pursued by our troopers, passed close by me. One of them, a strapping fellow whirling his sabre over his head, charged on me. As I had neither sword or pistols, I ducked, urging my pony forward, and the blow intended for me struck the animal’s back. My assailant galloped away, pursued

²³⁰ Redoubt 5 was garrisoned by the Turks later in the morning.

²³¹ Conolly (see ‘*Brief Biographies*’).

²³² So far as is known, only one regimental butcher charged on that day - 598 Private John Vahey of the 17th Lancers. My analysis of the sources suggests that he formed up with the Royals and began the cavalry advance with them but was told to join his regiment. He moved ahead at speed and survived the Charge of the Light Brigade, killing perhaps six Russians and earning himself a Distinguished Conduct Medal.

and cut down by some of our troopers. As my pony, a very small one from Bosnia, stood trembling all over, I dismounted and saw that it was bleeding from a very deep cut across its back-bone – it was so badly wounded that it had afterwards to be shot. I relieved it of its saddle, which I left near it, and went in search of Lord Lucan. When I approached him, his Lordship asked why I was on foot and, on my informing him that my pony was severely wounded, he directed his orderly to catch for my use one of the Russian horses cantering about riderless. After several attempts, a big beast was captured and brought to me. I did not like the look of the animal, but the orderly recommended it to me as a good charger. I mounted it and, although it had an iron mouth²³³, it was steady enough and gave me no trouble at the time. My chief also seemed to approve of the acquisition.

Shortly after, I followed His Lordship and some of his staff to a small hillock between redoubts No. 4 and No. 5, from where we saw the Guards and other regiments descending down the Sebastopol plateau into the plain. As most of the staff were sent with orders to the Cavalry Brigades, only one officer - Captain Charteris, I think - myself and an orderly were with Lord Lucan when Captain Nolan rode up close to Lord Lucan, saluted, and delivered to him a written order from Lord Raglan.

After reading the order, Lord Lucan had a discussion with Nolan who, pointing to the Russian position in an excited manner²³⁴, exclaimed ‘There my Lord is your enemy; there are your guns.’ His Lordship was surprised and appeared irritated by the very impetuous and disrespectful attitude of Nolan but made no answer, and, after some hesitation, ordered the Light brigade to charge and the heavies to advance to its support; he at the same time going to lead the latter. I was about to follow him when he directed me not to do so and confided to my care Lord Raglan’s memorable order. This order was signed A. Airey²³⁵ (the Quarter Master General). It was written in pencil on a scrap of paper about 7 inches long and 3 to 4 inches broad.

I need not here go into details of this Light Brigade charge, which has made them renowned in the history of the world and crowned them with undying laurels. Tennyson’s poem has given it to the world that even the smallest schoolboy is conversant with it.

While not desiring to transgress at this point, I may perhaps be pardoned for relating some further minor incidents that happened in connection with the events of the day. Shortly before the Light Brigade charge, Captain the Honourable Charteris, one of Lord Lucan’s Aides-de-Camp, asked me to lend him my handkerchief. I told him that the one I had on me was not very clean, but he replied that it would do for his purpose and, on my handing it to him, he drew his sword from its scabbard and, twisting the handkerchief, formed it into a loop round its hilt so as to strengthen his grasp of the weapon. He then said to me: ‘That will do, Blunt, but I doubt if I shall ever return it to you.’, or words to that effect, uttered in a melancholy mournful tone as if he had a presentiment of his impending doom. He was very soon after killed while accompanying the Heavy Brigade, led by Lord Lucan, in support of the Light Brigade. Towards evening, his cousin Lord Bingham – Lord Lucan’s son – went out to the spot where poor Charteris fell and got from the body a few things, including his watch and sword, but the enemy began to make it too arm for him from one of the captured redoubts and, accordingly, he beat a hasty retreat.²³⁶

Captain Charteris was a very intelligent and popular officer. To me, he was always very kind and I was grateful to him for the interest he took in me. We often conversed

²³³ That is – ‘It responded only to the fiercest use of the reins’.

²³⁴ No mention here of Nolan’s using his sword to point the way. Nor does Sir John define ‘the Russian position’ - the East end of the North Valley or the Causeway Heights?

²³⁵ In error for ‘R. Airey’.

²³⁶ See Lord Bingham’s 1905 Letter to Blunt (p 31, above).

together on the condition of the Army and I observed that he always took a very desponding view of the exposed situation of Balaklava.

Immediately after Lord Lucan and staff galloped towards the Heavy Brigade, I rode up to the top of the hillock to watch the movements of the Cavalry, but I only saw the beginning of the charge and could distinguish Lord Cardigan and Captain Nolan, at the head of the first Regiment.²³⁷ For my horse becoming very excited by the bugle and trumpet calls and the gun firing, I endeavoured to lead it down towards our camp but I felt I was losing all control over the animal for it suddenly swerved round and galloped with breakneck speed towards the Woronzoff road. I could not stop it, my hands got quite sore from pulling its bridle and I felt very uneasy.²³⁸

Fortunately, in its mad career, it suddenly came up to redoubt No. 5 and, in attempting to leap over its narrow trench, stumbled and pitched me on its low embankment. Just as I was about to jump into the redoubt, a Turkish soldier, in rushing forward to assist me, was struck and killed on the spot by a splinter of a shell. The horse got on its legs and galloped away over the Woronzoff road in the direction of the Fidoukin heights. Redoubt No. 5 was a small one, much smaller than the others; it was lightly constructed, had no guns and was not garrisoned till after the Heavy Brigade charge, when the Turkish Commandant, Rustem Pasha, after consulting with Sir Colin Campbell, occupied it with about 200 of his men.²³⁹ Several Turks were killed and some wounded in this redoubt by the continuous fire of the enemy’s batteries on the opposite heights – the Fedoukhine hills – and Rustem Pasha, who was outside the redoubt with an orderly, had his horse wounded. The Pasha, on seeing me, asked me if I was hurt, adding ‘You know I expected all this trouble (Turkish ‘*Bela*’) would fall on our heads’.²⁴⁰

The fire from the two batteries on the Fedoukhine hill was put a stop to, thanks to some squadrons of the Chasseurs d’Afrique who, in the most gallant and spirited manner, attacked the position and sabred most of the gunners; but for this timely and well executed diversion, the retiring remnants of the Light Brigade, and the Turks in redoubt 5, would have had to deplore many more casualties. When the firing from the Fedoukhim heights was thus suppressed and I saw some men of the Light Brigade²⁴¹ returning from the charge, I left the redoubt and walked down the hill towards them. On my way, I came across some eight to ten men of the Guards who had just carried from the field the body of an officer. They did not know who it was but, on approaching, I at once recognized Captain Nolan. His face was almost black and his chest was lacerated and covered with blood. His death must have been instantaneous and caused by a shell bursting near him. While I was looking at the body, H.R.H. the Duke of Cambridge, passing by with some of his staff, stopped, looked at the body, and asked ‘Who is that?’ I replied ‘Captain Nolan, Your Royal Highness.’ He rode on, exclaiming ‘Poor Nolan, Poor Nolan.’

As I felt somewhat fatigued and very hungry, having had nothing to eat, not even breakfast, since the morning but a dry biscuit kindly offered to me by a Turkish soldier in redoubt 5, I walked back towards Cadi-kioi and Balaklava. On my way, I met a party conveying brave Captain Morris who, while gallantly charging at the head of his regiment,

²³⁷ Nolan would have been easily recognisable by his 15th Hussars uniform and cap, unique in the Crimea. Blunt seems to have witnessed Nolan’s movement ahead of the Brigade shortly after its advance began.

²³⁸ Variant text ‘uncomfortable’.

²³⁹ This is not otherwise reported in the available accounts.

²⁴⁰ Blunt here omits adding ‘Why did the Commander-in-Chief (Lord Raglan) neglect to act on the information I sent him through your Generals?’ (meaning Lord Lucan and Sir Colin Campbell).’

²⁴¹ Variant text; ‘...some of them wounded and unhorsed,...’

the 17th Lancers, was nearly killed more than once, having received numerous wounds, one of a very dangerous nature on his head. I went forward to enquire and express my sympathy but he looked very pallid and faint from loss of blood and did not recognise me. While attached to Lord Lucan’s staff, he was always most kind to me, having known and been a good friend of my uncle in India when the latter was judge at Allygher²⁴² and Meerut.

After refreshing and resting myself at Balaklava, I returned to our quarters, where I found all much depressed. I was told that Captain Charteris was among the many killed and that Lord Lucan was wounded on one of his legs by a spent ball. I found his Lordship lying on his cot with his legs extended on it. On expressing my sympathy, he said ‘It’s nothing very serious; I shall be all right in two or three days,’ – adding – ‘I shall want one or two copies of the Commander-in-Chief’s order.’ Next day, I prepared the copies and also copied the draft of his Lordship’s report on the battle. During the week, General Airey applied to him for the original order but was only furnished, I was told, with a copy of it.

I continued to serve as Chief Interpreter to His Lordship and also acted as his Secretary till he gave up his Command towards the middle of February, 1855, when he left for Constantinople, taking me with him. We arrived there on the 18th of the same month and, next day, he embarked for home. I accompanied him on board to see him off and, in thanking His Lordship for all his kindness to me, he placed in my hands a letter saying ‘Blunt, I wish you all good luck.’ I bid goodbye to His Lordship with feelings of regret and most lively gratitude. The following is a copy of the last paragraph of his letter, dated Constantinople February 19th, 1855, ‘not alone as an interpreter but in the field and particularly at Balaklava in the action of October 25th 1854, you assisted and were of use to me.’

Lord Lucan was a thorough gentleman in every sense of the word. He was always most kind to me during the ten months I served under him; I never heard a harsh word from him and I have always remembered, with deep gratitude, his kind-heartedness and the countenance and support he extended to me. I was at the time but a young man, scarcely 21 years of age²⁴³, and, but for the kindly interest taken in me by his Lordship, would have felt much out of place, the interpreters employed by the Army during the War not then being regarded in any other light than as outsiders.

The following anecdote will show that Lord Lucan never forgot an acquaintance. Towards the end of November (1854) during a very cold afternoon, I met a Tartar at Balaklava holding a sheep’s skin jacket with the fur inside (called by the natives ‘Shuba’). On my asking him its price, he answered that it was not for sale but, on showing him a sovereign, he grabbed it with one hand and, with the other, gave up the ‘Shuba’. It was quite new and I at once put it on. Shortly after, I met Lord Lucan returning from the cavalry camp. He admired my acquisition and wished to have one like it. I at once offered it to him, telling him I doubted if any like it were procurable at Balaklava. He thanked me but refused to deprive me of it. In the evening, before dinner, I again proffered him the jacket, assuring him I had no need of it. He kindly accepted it and always wore it when out riding at Balaklava.

During the Russo-Turkish War in 1877-8, while I was employed by the Foreign Office on special service in the Balkan districts, my wife will went home and, shortly after her arrival, I received a letter from her giving the following amusing account of a visit Lord Lucan paid her. – ‘A few days ago, Lord Lucan called and, much pleased as I was to

²⁴² Alighar.

²⁴³ Blunt was over 22 years old at the time.

make his acquaintance, I was not a little startled at the extraordinary costume he appeared before me. He wore a sheep-skin jacket such as the shepherds in the Crimea and Bulgaria wear; much amused at my tell-tale look, His Lordship laughed and said ‘I see you are surprised that I come before you in this turn-out, but I feel sure you will be pleased that I have not forgotten your husband; the jacket I am wearing he gave to me during a very cold winter at Balaklava in 1854, and I have always attached a special value to it as not one of the least of the good services he rendered during the Crimean War.’

Here, I should add that besides Lord Lucan, Captain the Honourable Charteris, 2nd A.D.C., and Captain Morris D.A.Q.M.G., the other members of Lord Lucan’s staff also showed me much kindness, namely, Lord Bingham 3rd A.D.C. (the present Earl of Lucan), Lt Colonel Lord William Paulet A.Adj.G., Major McMahon A.Q.M.G., Captain Walker 1st A.D.C., Captain Fellowes (acting in place of Captain Morris as D.A.Q.M.G.) and Dr. McDonnell²⁴⁴, Chief Medical Officer.

²⁴⁴ Macdonell (See *‘Brief Biographies’*).

**Appendix J5: ‘The Daily Malta Chronicle’:
Report of Balaklava Lecture 1908**

‘The Daily Malta Chronicle’

Oct.13 1908

LECTURE BY SIR JOHN BLUNT
ON
THE BATTLE OF BALAKLAVA

Sir John Blunt delivered a most interesting lecture at the Garrison Lecture Room, on Thursday evening last, to a full audience of Officers N.C.O.’s and men. Colonel F.R.B. Toms, R.G.A., presided, whilst the majority of the company were ‘Gunners’. Indeed the lecture had originally been intended solely for the edification of the Gunners, but it was eventually decided to allow the other corps to profit by the opportunity of hearing a lecture from one who was actually present, as Chief Interpreter to Lieutenant General Lord Lucan at the Battle about which he discoursed so ably.

A huge map of the field of operations was exhibited on the platform, by which it was made very easy to follow the lecturer’s description. In fact, Sir John commenced his lecture by giving a very detailed description of the topography of the Harbour of Balaklava and vicinity of Sebastopol. A brief speech of the forces employed on both sides followed and an account of the proceedings leading up to the 24th October, when the British received information that the enemy had concentrated 28,000 men behind the Tchoroun heights, preparatory to an early attack on Balaklava.

The information was soon confirmed, for early next morning, while Lord Lucan with his Staff was riding across the valley of Balaklava towards those works, the redoubt No. 1 on Canrobert Hill suddenly opened fire, which was returned by the Russian Artillery posted in the vicinity of the village of Kamara behind the hill.²⁴⁵ Lord Lucan, after consulting with Sir Colin Campbell, who was also on the spot²⁴⁶, sent an A.D.C. to inform Headquarters of the situation, and other members of his Staff to direct both Cavalry Brigades and Captain Maude’s Battery of Horse Artillery to turn out. His Lordship with Sir Colin Campbell followed by Captain Fellowes (Acting D.A.Q.M.G.) and the Chief Interpreter (Sir John Blunt), advanced to the foot of Canrobert Hill, from where they discerned a large column of Russian Infantry some 4000 strong climbing up the slopes of the hill to attack the redoubt, against which a rapid and fierce cannonading from the enemy’s guns posted at Kamara was kept up. The Turks, although greatly out-numbered, made a gallant stand, and both Lord Lucan and Sir Colin Campbell manifested their approval; the former called out ‘Those Turks are doing well!’²⁴⁷ But having lost nearly half their number, and expecting no support, they retired leaving their three guns, their killed and a few prisoners – most of them wounded – in the enemy’s hands. They were ordered to form behind the Highlanders (93rd Regiment), posted near Cadi-Kioi.

²⁴⁵ A British Cavalry picket at Kamara was driven in earlier and may have given the alarm. It appears that the Turks began the cannon fire.

²⁴⁶ This is the first report that Sir Colin was with Lucan on his early-morning tour of inspection of the cavalry. The spy’s report may have prompted this joint action.

²⁴⁷ Lucan may well have approved, but in another account Sir Colin was scathing, later in the day, in his adverse comments on the Turks [Douglas J Austin, unpublished information.]. Nevertheless, the Turks are rightly applauded in *‘The True Heroes of Balaclava’* by Mike Hargreave Mawson (CWRS SP 14, 1996).

Sir John was sent by Lord Lucan with this order. He rode after the Turks and explained to their Binbashi²⁴⁸ (Major) Lord Lucan’s order. Some of his men, who appeared parched with thirst and exhausted, approached and saluted the bearer of the order. One, faint and bleeding from a wound in his chest asked: ‘Why no troops were sent to our support.’ Another remarked that ‘the guns in their redoubt were too small, ill-supplied with ammunition, and could not be properly served.’ Whilst a third complained that during the last two days they had had nothing to eat but biscuit and very little water to drink. A comrade, with bandaged head, smoking a long pipe, remarked in Turkish: ‘*Neh Yappelim Effendim! Allahin Emrider*’ (What can we do Sir! It is God’s will.). The Binbashi called the men away, and the Interpreter rode back to report to Lord Lucan.

Shortly after the Turks had been driven out of the above redoubt, Nos. 2, 3, and 4, numbering altogether about 800 men, seeing large bodies of Russian Cavalry and Infantry rapidly advancing in their direction and expecting no support, made but little resistance and withdrew towards Balaklava. As some stragglers from these redoubts were trudging along with their kits on their shoulders, in the direction of the Cavalry Camp, Lord Lucan sent his Interpreter (who appears to have acted as a kind of unofficial A.D.C.) to order them to go to Cadi-Kioi. Scarcely did he reach them, when a regiment of Russian Cavalry crossed the Waranzoff road into the plain and galloped across it towards Balaklava; but their onward course was arrested: they were forced to retire by the resolute action of the Highlanders, who, under the personal command of the bold spirited Sir Colin Campbell, received the enemy’s charge in line! described by the Times correspondent as ‘That thin red streak tipped with a line of steel!’

Shortly after this brilliant feat, the lecturer saw, whilst attending to the Turkish stragglers, a dense body of Russian Cavalry, some 3000 strong, suddenly appear on the ridge of hillocks above the Waranzoff²⁴⁹ road and slowly advance in the direction of Redoubt No. 5, which was not armed or garrisoned at the time. The Heavy Brigade, under General the Hon. Sir Yorke Scarlett, numbering less than 800 sabres, was in the vicinity of their camp and almost within pistol shot of the advancing Russians. By Lord Lucan’s orders²⁵⁰ they formed up and prepared to charge. They looked as if on a ceremonial parade! The Scots Greys and Inniskillens, well handled and led by General Scarlett, advanced at the trot and gradually increasing their pace, broke into a gallop, charged and cut their way through the serried ranks of the enemy who, being at the same time resolutely attacked on both flanks by the squadrons of the Royals and 4th and 5th Dragoon Guards, broke and fled towards Canrobert hill, leaving a considerable number of killed and wounded men and horses on the field.

It was a ‘triumphant charge’ (as Lord Lucan described it in one of his letters dictated to the lecturer himself), in which officers and men fought with indomitable spirit, determined to overthrow an enemy who, besides their great superiority in numbers, also had the important advantage of charging down the slope of the hill. The lecturer, who was in very close vicinity, watched with heart-thrilling sensation the brilliant performance rendered all the more real and exciting by the braying of trumpets and sound of pistol and carbine shots, the neighing of horses and thud of their hoofs, by the glint and glitter of the clashing swords and the howls of Cossacks and the cheers of the British, whose bright shining helmets and scarlet tunics formed a striking contrast to the dark coated enemy who surrounded them!

²⁴⁸ Also spelled ‘Bimbashi’.

²⁴⁹ Also spelled ‘Woronzoff’ or ‘Vorontzov’, usually the former.

²⁵⁰ Scarlett had already begun aligning his troops when Lucan’s order arrived.

The whole scene was most exciting and impressive. Subsequently the lecturer was reminded by Captain Fellowes of the following remark made by Generalissimo Omar Pasha to Lord Raglan in French, on witnessing, during a review of the Light Division at Varna, a charge in line of one of the British Dragoon Regiments:- ‘With one such regiment, my Lord, I would attack and destroy four Russian Regiments!’ It was little thought at the time that this glorious achievement was shortly to be over-shadowed by the ever-memorable Charge of the Light Brigade, which has made their ‘noble six hundred’ renowned in the history of battles and crowned them with undying laurels.

A droll incident occurred as the Heavies were forming up for the charge. Whilst riding a short distance to the rear of the Iniskillins, looking after the Turks, the lecturer saw a Staff Officer, Captain Connolly²⁵¹, General Scarlett’s Brigade Major, ride up to a trooper in the rear rank call him out and order him back to the camp, as he was minus his tunic and had his shirt sleeves tucked up to his shoulders. Afterwards it appears that this man, as vouched for to the lecturer by Captain Fellowes, rejoined his regiment in time to take a very active part in the charge. This doughty trooper was the regimental butcher! Colonel McKean, late of the Inniskillens, who is now established in Malta, on being recounted this incident by the lecturer, told him that he possessed a picture representing the Regimental Butcher – minus his tunic – taking part in the famous charge.

Mr A.L. Haydon, in the ‘Book of the Victoria Cross’, published in 1906, relates as follows a similar incident during the charge of the Light Brigade:-

‘One other man of the 17th Lancers, who distinguished himself in this charge, was the regimental butcher John Veigh. Hearing that the dash for the Russian guns was to be made, he left his work and in bloodstained shirt, without seeking permission, borrowed a sabre and rode through the valley with his comrades. Butcher Jack cut down six gunners and returned unhurt still smoking the short black pipe, which was in his mouth when he joined in the ‘ride’’.²⁵²

After describing how he had his horse killed under him, and was mounted on a Russian runaway, the lecturer described how he followed Lord Lucan and some of his Staff to a small hillock between redoubts Nos. 4 and 5, from where they saw the Guards and other regiments descending from the Sebastopol plateau onto the plain.²⁵³ As most of the Staff had been sent with orders to the Cavalry Brigades, only the second A.D.C. (Capt. The Hon. Charteris), the Interpreter and an Orderly remained with Lord Lucan, when shortly after Captain Nolan rode up close to his Lordship, saluted and delivered to him a written order from Lord Raglan. After reading the order Lord Lucan had a discussion with Nolan, who, pointing to the Russian position in an excited manner exclaimed vehemently, in the hearing of all present: ‘There, my Lord, is your enemy; there are your guns.’

His Lordship appeared to be surprised and irritated at the impetuous and disrespectful attitude and tone of Captain Nolan, looked at him sternly but made no answer; and after some hesitation proceeded to give orders to Lord Cardigan to charge the enemy with the Light Brigade and to the Heavy Brigade to advance in support, and at the same time went to accompany the latter.

²⁵¹ Conolly (See ‘*Brief Biographies*’.)

²⁵² See²²⁶, above, for information on 598 Private John Vahey of the 17th Lancers.

²⁵³ An important point as regards timings. Lucan therefore knew that the infantry was finally on its way before he received Raglan’s final order.

The lecturer was himself about to follow His Lordship, but was directed not to do so; the memorable order of Lord Raglan was, however, confided to him (Sir John Blunt) for safe keeping; the following being a true copy, as entered in his pocketbook the day after the charge:-

‘Lord Raglan wishes the Cavalry to advance rapidly to the front, follow the enemy and try to prevent the enemy carrying away the guns. Troop of Horse Artillery may accompany. French Cavalry is on your left.

Immediate. (Signed) A. Airey.²⁵⁴

This important order was afterwards required to clear Lord Lucan’s good name, and, it was fortunately not lost by Sir John during the exciting incidents of that memorable day.

The lecturer closed his interesting account with some delightful reminiscences.

It will have been an experience not easily to be forgotten by any of those fortunate enough to be at the Lecture; and when in future years one hears mention made of the Crimean War, and the famous charge, it will be something to be able to say ‘Yes, I heard the man who was standing by Lord Lucan when the written order was delivered, and who actually took charge of it till after the event, lecture on the subject at Malta in 1908.’

It should be mentioned that on the platform with Sir John was another Crimean Veteran – our old friend Mr. McKerrow²⁵⁵ - who, we are sure gave a good account of himself at most of the principal battles of that gigantic struggle.

Col. Toms proposed a vote of thanks to the Lecturer, and incidentally remarked: ‘Staff Officers, take note. Deliver your messages properly!’²⁵⁶

²⁵⁴ Correctly, ‘R. Airey’. Curiously, there are variant wordings of the 4th Order. The original, deposited by a later Earl of Lucan in the National Army Museum, Chelsea as NAM 1962-11-4-3, reads ‘...follow the Enemy & try to prevent...Troop Horse Artily may accompany. French Cavalry is on yr. left...’

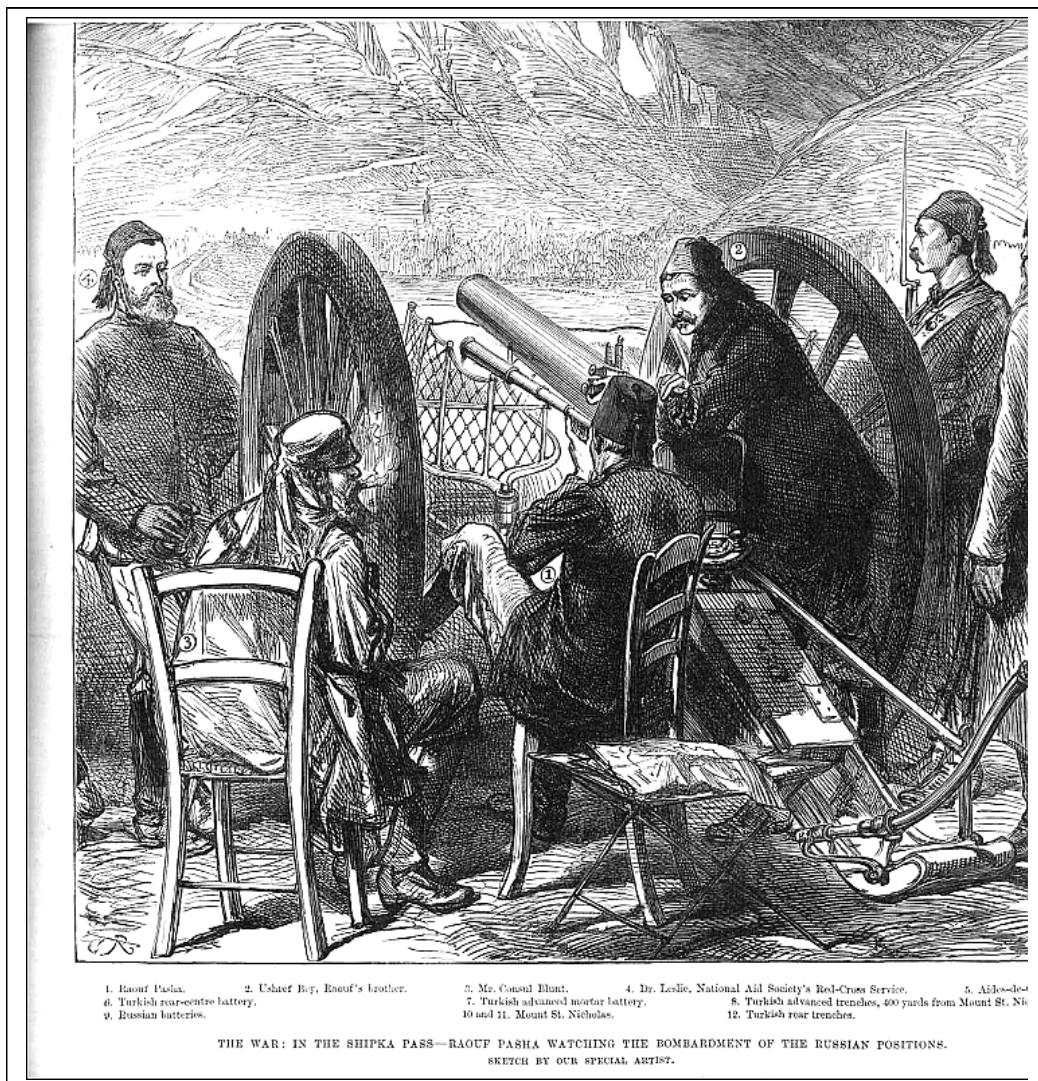
²⁵⁵ See ‘*Brief Biographies*’.

²⁵⁶ Perhaps the most concise lesson to be learned from the Charge of the Light Brigade.

**Appendix J6: ‘Illustrated London News’:
Engraving of John Blunt in 1877**

As yet, no Crimean War period pictures of John Elijah Blunt have come to light. I have located one engraving of him, however, created during his service in the Russo-Turkish War of 1877-78. ‘Mr. Consul Blunt’ is the bearded figure seated to the left, with Raouf Pasha in the centre.

The Shipka is the name of the pass through the Balkan mountains on the road between Russe, on the Danube River, Stara Zgora and Edirne, Turkey at an elevation of 1,330 m. One of the greatest battles of the Russo-Turkish War (1877-1878) took place there. The pass was originally held by a Turkish force but the Russian garrison seized it by surprise in July 1877. In response, Turkish troops attacked Shipka in August. The Russian force, which included 7,500 Bulgarian volunteers, held the position against 30,000 Turkish. Following the capitulation of Turkey in December, the Russians began a general advance, and, in January 1878, the Russians again attacked the Turks at Shipka Pass. On January 9, 1878, Turkey surrendered. This ultimately led to the establishment of the modern Bulgarian state.



(‘Illustrated London News’: 15th December, 1877: p 577

Appendix J7: List of Source Documents

BLUNT PAPERS (Birmingham + NAM+CUL)

Catalogue of photocopies of Crimean War items from the BLUNT PAPERS, Special Collections, University of Birmingham + NAM Chapter 6 (Balaklava) + Cambridge University Library: CUL Add 9554/5/46

N.B. The Blunt (Birmingham) archive has not been fully catalogued. It is, therefore, possible that significant items exist elsewhere within the archive. That said, the holdings viewed appeared coherent and complete.

FORMATS = Man (Manuscript); Typ (Typewritten); Pri (Printed material);
Map (Map); Pho (Photographic material).

(DJA LIST)	ITEM	ITEM	BLUNT'S	ITEM	ITEM
NUMBER	FORMAT	DATE	CHAPTER	TITLE	PAGES
D-01	Typ	none	4	Appointment : Early days in the Crimea	10
D-02	Typ	none	4	Appointment : Early days in the Crimea	10
D-03	Man	none	4	Appointment : Early days in the Crimea	15
D-04	Typ	none	10	Blunt's Service with and for Lucan	1
D-05	Typ	none	5	Battle of the Alma Sep 20 th 1854	8
D-06	Typ	none	5	Battle of the Alma Sep 20 th 1854	8
D-07	Man	none	6	Chapter: Title + Lucan's report + Sultan's letter	1
D-08	Man	none	6	Detached Page (Raglan's Despatch + Lucan's Report)	1
D-09	Man	none	6	Lord Raglan's Despatch Oct 28 th 1854	4
D-10	Man	none	6	Lucan's letter to Raglan Nov 30 th 1854	6
D-11	Man	none	6	JEB copy of Yonge's letter Feb 5 th 1910	7
D-12	Man	none	6	Sir Colin Campbell's Report Oct 27 th 1854	7
D-13	Man	none	6	Lucan's letter to Raglan Nov 30 th 1854	7
D-14	Man	none	6	Lucan's letter to Raglan Nov 30 th 1854 + Blunt's evidence	8
D-15	Typ	none	6	Battle of Balaklava Oct 25 th 1854	9
D-16	Man	none	6	Lord Lucan's Report Oct 27 th 1854	12
D-17	Man	none	6	Battle of Balaklava Oct 25 th 1854 (partial)	13
D-18	Typ	none	6	Balaklava Oct 25 th 1854 + Lucan (1905) + Yonge (1910)	16
D-19	Typ	none	6	Battle of Balaklava Oct 25 th 1854 + Lucan (1905)	17
D-20	Typ	none	6	Battle of Balaklava Oct 25 th 1854 + Lucan (1905)	17
D-21	Typ	none	6	Battle of Balaklava (Corrected Narrative)	18
D-22	Man	1908 Oct 4 th	6	Note from SPENDER to JEB re the Map of Balaklava	1
D-23	Typ	1910 Feb 6 th	6(Appendix)	Letter from YONGE to JEB re Balaklava chapter	3
D-24	Man	none	6	Sir Colin Campbell's report of Battle of Balaklava	1
D-25	Man	none	6	For p 9 : Blunt's escape at Balaklava + TIMES item	1
D-26	Man	none	6	Note re Sir George Orby Wombell : Balaklava	1
D-27	Map	1904?	6	Map of the Battle Field of Balaklava	2
D-28	Man	none	6	Extract Records of Inniskilling Dragoons : Balaklava	5
N-01	Typ	none	6	NAM 1956-10-47-7 Balaklava Oct 25 th 1854 + Lucan (1905)	15
D-29	Man	none	7	Battle of Inkerman Nov 5 th 1854	13
D-30	Man	none	7	Battle of Inkerman Nov 5 th 1854	36
D-31	Man	none	8	Lieutenant General the Earl Lucan	20
D-32	Typ	none	9	Turkish troops in the Crimea	7

(DJA LIST)	ITEM	ITEM	BLUNT'S	ITEM	ITEM
NUMBER	FORMAT	DATE	CHAPTER	TITLE	PAGES
D-33	Pho	1856 Apr 11	n/a	Photographs : 2 Letters from Lord Lucan	9
D-34	Pri	1904 Oct 25 th	n/a	The Daily Malta Chronicle : 50 Years Ago - Balaklava : By Blunt?	1
D-35	Man	1906 Nov 2 nd	n/a	Letter to Sir William Russell	4
D-36	Man	1908?	n/a	Introduction to Balaklava lecture	2
D-37	Man	1908?	n/a	Introduction to Balaklava lecture	1
D-38	Pri	1908?	n/a	Poem :The Charge of the Heavy Brigade	1
D-39	Pri	1908 Oct 13 th	n/a	The Daily Malta Chronicle : Blunt's Lecture on Balaklava	1
D-40	Pri	1908 Oct 13 th	n/a	The Daily Malta Chronicle : Blunt's Lecture on Balaklava	1
D-41	Pri	1910 Sep 20 th	n/a	The Daily Malta Chronicle : Blunt's Lecture on Alma	2
D-42	Man	none	?	Detached Page (Crimean winter)	1
D-43	Pri	1856 Jul 19 th	?	Times : Lucan's speech to H of Lords Crimean Board	3
D-44	Man	none	?	Lucan's letter to Blunt on leaving Crimea Feb 19 th 1855	4
D-45	Man	none	?	Translation of Sultan Abdul-Mejid's letter to Raglan 27 th Jul 1855	4
D-46	Map	none	n/a	Map of the Black Sea , with Allied Fleet movements	1
D-47	Map	none	n/a	Map of Kherson Bay with Dneiper and Boug rivers	1
D-48	Map	none	?	Map of the Defences of Sebastopol 8 th Sept 1855	1
D-49	Typ	none	10	After the Crimea	13
D-50	Typ	none	10	After the Crimea (Duplicate)	13
C-01	Man	1854?	6	CUL Add 9554/5/46: Airey's notes + Lucan's copy of the 3 rd Order	3